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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

News in Review

City, County, State Progress in Brief

New York Court Furthers Community Control of Property

Another city joins manager roll; states increase old age assistance; WPA funds insufficient

Edited by
H. M. OLMSTED

Planners and their friends who believe that planning, zoning, and regulation of private property may constitutionally be based upon aesthetics and on the values inherent in the good appearance of towns, may now chalk up an additional mark as the result of a decision by Justice Hooley of the New York Supreme Court in Nassau County. In *Preferred Tires, Inc.* v. *Village of Hempstead,* 173 Misc. 1017 (decided March 28 and reported in Advance Sheets, June 1, 1940; also 19 N. Y. Supp. (2nd) 374), Judge Hooley sustained an ordinance of the town of Hempstead which prohibited all types of vertical signs in the village and also all other signs which project from the face of any building over any sidewalk or street in the village and required the removal of all such signs at the end of a period of slightly over one year from the enactment of the ordinance.

The plaintiff in the case sought an injunction to prohibit the application of the ordinance to his property upon the grounds, among others, that the ordinance is both unreasonable and unconstitutional, in part because it made an exception in favor of projecting signs upon hotel and theatre marquees.

Judge Hooley sustains the ordinance, including its exceptions, nothwithstanding its so-called "retroactive" effect or application to existing signs.

He found the ordinance to be based both upon public safety and upon the promotion of beauty but added:

"This court is not restricted to aesthetic reasons in deciding to sustain the validity of the ordinance in question, *but if it were so restricted, it would not hesitate to sustain the legislation upon that ground alone.* The court cannot believe that, with the legislature of the state specifically delegating the power to regulate or prohibit signs in the public streets, a municipal board in this day and age can be so restricted, as plaintiff contends, in thus promoting the happiness and general welfare of the community."

The opinion of Justice Hooley strengthens the doctrine now gaining recognition in the courts that aesthetic considerations are inextricably woven into the value of private property, the interest of the community in the subjects of taxation, good planning, and the right of the public to have the amenity of places preserved for its enjoyment—in short, that aesthetic considerations concern the public welfare and that good appearance may be made the basis of restrictions and regulations under the police power, whether by zoning or simple regulation.

This newest opinion recalls the decision in *Monterey County* v. *Bassett,* reported in a note in the December 1938 issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW (p. 619), where Judge Dooling of the California Superior and Appellate Courts upheld the constitutionality of a county ordinance designed to protect the natural beauty of the San Simeon Highway along the California coast. That decision overruled a demurrer in-

terposed by the defendant attacking the constitutionality of the ordinance. The case recently came on for trial and a further decision may be expected soon.

Although both these opinions are by courts of first instance, both refer to the new attitude with respect to aesthetics as a basis for the exercise of the police power, and both decline to follow the old unrealistic doctrine that communities may not plan for appearance and may not impose aesthetic restrictions upon private property.

ALBERT S. BARD
National Roadside Council

Council-Manager Plan News

Clawson, Michigan, by a vote of 704 to 125 on June 3, adopted a council-manager charter which supersedes a city manager ordinance that has been in effect since January 1, 1937.

Directors of the Lynn, Massachusetts, Taxpayers Association favor a Plan E charter—city manager and P.R.—for **Lynn**. On May 21 they unanimously endorsed Plan E as the modern form of city charter to replace the present political management, which, they stated, gives no hope of improvement. Plans will be launched in the near future to organize a Plan E charter committee.

Petitions are being circulated in **North Adams, Massachusetts,** for a vote on Plan E. The *North Adams Transcript* stated on June 6: "An aggressive campaign for the adoption here of Plan E at the state election in November has been definitely decided on by a group of local men including several members of the city council and of both political parties. While petitions to put the Plan E question on the ballot were started in circulation here two weeks ago, they had been held up while the group weighed the question whether to go ahead on the basis of Plan E, which is the readymade city manager charter contained in Massachusetts statutes, or to try to draft a special city manager charter for North Adams. The conclusion was reached last night following a thorough study of Plan E that the special charter would offer no advantages which would warrant the delay and the effort involved in its preparation."

Haverhill, in the same state, is evidencing interest in Plan D—city manager without P.R.

The proposed manager charter for **Central Falls, Rhode Island,** failed of passage in the state legislature.

The town planning commission of **Thompsonville, Connecticut,** held an open meeting early in June at which the possibilities of the town manager plan were discussed.

Petitions to rescind the manager plan are being circulated in **Schenectady, New York.**

The Municipal Manager Form of Government Association of **Bayonne, New Jersey,** has now secured sufficient signatures to place the proposed adoption of the manager plan on the ballot. Former Recorder Daniel J. Murray, who heads the movement for a new charter, recently declared: "It is my opinion that the only possible way that we will have a return of confidence by industries here and provide encouragement to new industries is to adopt the city manager form of government, and by its operation in a businesslike, efficient manner dig this city out of the financial mire into which it has been plunged by politicians." Bayonne now has the commission form of government.

Grosse Pointe Park, Michigan, recently appointed the former purchas-

(Continued on Page 491)

The League's Business

League Members in the News

The annual award of the City Club of New York for public service by a non-elective official of New York City has been made to **Russell Forbes,** commissioner of purchases, former secretary of the National Municipal League, and an authority on centralized purchasing methods. The award was made in recognition of the organization and development of an efficient purchasing agency, which with the use of specification standards, competitive bidding, and sound purchasing principles has saved the city many thousands of dollars.

Ex-Mayor Murray Seasongood of Cincinnati, formerly president of the League and now a member of its council, has recently made several addresses on local government. On May 23 he addressed the University of Louisville student convocation on "Local Government and Politics," and on June 17 he appeared before the Quincy, Massachusetts, service clubs to discuss "Your Opportunities and Responsibilities Towards Your Government." Quincy has been interested in the adoption of the Cincinnati plan—the city manager plan with proportional representation.

Dr. A. R. Hatton, an honorary vice president of the League, retired in June from his position as head of the department of political science at Northwestern University. A farewell dinner was given in his honor by colleagues and students. **Dr. Joseph P. Harris,** now with the department of political science, University of California at Berkeley, will succeed Dr. Hatton in the fall.

Robert C. Hendrickson, of Woodbury, New Jersey, a member of the League's council, was nominated for governor on the Republican ticket in the recent New Jersey primary contest. Mr. Hendrickson, who is President of the New Jersey Senate, defeated former Governor Harold G. Hoffman who was seeking re-election.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

A Secret in Rochester

ON MAY 28 Harold W. Baker, city manager of Rochester, New York, was ousted by the city council by a party vote of seven to two. The action came without warning, without charges, and without explanation. It dumped a manager who for eight years had provided an administration which civic and business leaders of Rochester had characterized as outstandingly efficient and effective.

It is reported that the reason for the action was Mr. Baker's refusal to play ball with some of the local political leaders. If this is true, City Manager Baker was merely adhering to one of the fundamental principles of his profession—that an administration cannot be efficient if it is to be continually pulled up by political considerations.

Even though the council chose as Mr. Baker's successor the able and well qualified former comptroller and auditor of the city, the people of Rochester have every right, if not duty, to know why Mr. Baker was fired. Was he, in truth, less able than he seemed? Was he derelict in his duty? Did he thwart the selfish interests of politicians?

If he was discharged because he interfered with subversive political interests, then notice has been served on every succeeding manager that he cannot be manager in fact but merely the errand boy of a political organization, as was once the case in Kansas City.

The Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research, in its monthly bulletin, reports widespread indignation over Mr. Baker's removal. It expresses the opinion that, "if the election of councilmen were to be held in the near future, this indignation would make itself felt." It adds the old truism, however, that "practical politicians believe that popular resentment is short-lived. In this case they are putting their belief to the test."

This recalls a somewhat similar situation which burst suddenly on the unsuspecting public of Toledo, Ohio, in the autumn of 1938. It became known that certain elements in the council were preparing to oust able City Manager John Edy.

There was indignation in Toledo, too, and it was vociferously articulate. Civic leaders, press, and radio filled day and night with protests. When the fateful council meeting was called to order, thousands of alert citizens filled council chambers, halls, stairways, and even the walks surrounding the city hall. The crowd cheered the hero and hissed the villain. Only the two ringleaders stuck by their guns, and Edy was not fired. It was good exercise for the voters, and it was a good lesson for two politicians who didn't have to wait sixteen months to know how their constituents felt about it. The voters weren't taking any chances on forgetting.

The Rochester city councilmen who voted Mr. Baker out may feel

they have valid reasons for their action. If so, the people should be told these reasons. It does not help self-governing democracy to survive these dangerous times if popular will is circumvented, if public indignation is ignored, and if important official acts are not explained to a people who must be well informed if they are to vote intelligently.

Test of Patriotism

DURING the war period of 1914 to 1918 the council-manager form of government experienced its most rapid growth. Today, as the world faces what seems to be an even more fundamental crisis, there are more cities than ever before interested in this and other means of progress toward sound management.

In this country we are suddenly impelled to frantic, strenuous effort. It becomes plain to us, in the light of other democracies' failures, that our basic need is to "make democracy work"—to so organize it, to so clearly see the job it must do, to so thoroughly shake our people from cynical indifference, that our way of life will survive.

The other day it was reported that the Citizens Good Government Association of Worcester, Massachusetts, had abandoned plans to campaign for a manager charter with proportional representation on the grounds that "heated political activity must give way at the present to patriotic action in view of the nation's preparedness goal."

There is just a shade of suggestion in this statement that there is something unpatriotic in an effort by the people of a community to equip themselves with instruments for efficient administration under democratic control. It just isn't so and, of course, the public-spirited citizens of Worcester don't really believe it is so or they wouldn't have started their movement in the first place.

If good management and genuine democracy were important in normal times, how much more important are they at a time when the very system of self-government is undergoing its severest test.

There are at least these two highly important needs: to encourage all our people to participate intelligently in the process of government, and to give the people the tools to make that participation effective.

The second begets the first. Such ideals as the Citizens Good Government Association of Worcester advocate almost invariably have caused a greatly needed revival of civic spirit and sense of citizen responsibility. If we are to have these desirable attributes, there is no better place to develop them than in our cities, towns, and villages. A tree with rotten roots will fall when the storm strikes; but if we make democracy work efficiently, honestly, and effectively at the local level, we need worry less about reaching this goal on a national or international scale. After all, this country is made up of some thousands of local governments.

The City Manager Plan Passes Its "Exams"

"Nearly everywhere they (ideals of city management) added to the prestige of city government, lessened its preoccupation with trivial details or factional interests, and increased its ability to render service to the public."[1]

By RICHARD S. CHILDS
Chairman of the Council, National Municipal League

AFTER reaching its 500th city and after more than twenty-five years of trial in some of them, the council-manager plan has now been made the subject of its first scientific scrutiny on the basis of candid objective field observations by competent and impartial observers.

The survey was organized in 1937 by the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council. The constituent organizations of the council are the American Anthropological, Economic, Historical, Political Science, Psychological, Sociological, and Statistical Associations. The committee consisted of William Anderson, chairman, Louis Brownlow, Rowland Egger, Luther H. Gulick, Lewis Meriam, Lindsay Rogers, Leonard D. White, and George F. Yantis.

The field work and reporting were done by Harold A. Stone, Don K. Price, and Kathryn H. Stone who spent two years in the field, staying several weeks in each of eighteen city manager cities interviewing all manner of local people and getting the raw facts. They wrote a monograph on each of nine of these cities; these monographs are already published in orange-colored pamphlets by Public Administration Service and together constitute a book *City Manager Government in Nine Cities*. Seven more monographs by collaborators have likewise been secured and the seven pamphlets (a hundred pages or more each) will presently appear as a book, *City Manager Government in Seven Cities*. The stories of twenty-five more cities were written up by other collaborators but not published.

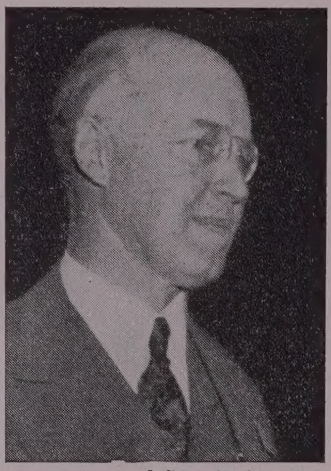
Now comes the subjective study, point by point, of the consolidated evidence from the whole fifty cities. The fifty include nearly half the city manager cities of over 50,000 population and one third of those over 25,000. This study, just published by Public Administration Service, Chicago, is a book of 279 pages entitled *City Manager Government in the United States; a Review After Twenty-five Years.*

It will be noted that in the list of sponsors of this massive study the names of active characters of the National Municipal League are conspicuously absent. As the city manager plan has been a centrally important project of the League since the plan's earliest days, this is as it should be. The examiners were passing judgment on our theories and

[1] *City Manager Government in the United States,* Chicago, 1940.

their outcome in practice; the value of this appraisal lies in the impartiality of the examiners.

Now, let's look into the book and see what the findings are and whether we need revise our fond *a priori* theories of yesteryear!



Indianapolis Star Photo

RICHARD S. CHILDS
"Father" of the city manager plan

The opening chapters narrate the early history of the plan from its start as "The Lockport Plan." My scrapbooks and recollections were fully tapped and it has been an exhilarating experience to me to read my personal epic thus set forth and assigned its spot in history. The scrapbooks are brittle and yellow with age, and so am I, but here the record is rejuvenated.

In the record of early days they uncovered one controversy in theory that I had long forgotten—a certain difference between my idea of the structure of the plan and that of William Dudley Foulke and others of the National Municipal League as to the protection of the manager from the city council. I advocated leaving the manager without protection and the council without alibis; the League foresmelled politics and corruption in councils and concocted words designed to make the council keep its hands off the administrative patronage and other details below the manager. It never seemed to me a thing to argue about since the council's power to fire carried with it such powerful control as to override any attempt in the charter's language to separate the fields of duty. The issue came to head when the League, which had looked coldly on the commission plan then (in 1912) sweeping the country, switched its Model Charter from the strong mayor plan to the city manager plan.

At that time both sides were theorizing. Now comes the experience in abundance, detailing the fate of managers who, in one way or another, felt free to stand up to their councils. Such managers rose or fell with their policies, and the turbulence of such loggerhead situations repeatedly damaged the stability of the government. The most successful experiences, we now are told, were in those cities where managers were docile to councils and thereby achieved great influence and length of service. I doubt, however, if on this point, or indeed on any other, the present edition of the Model Charter requires any alteration to bring it into accord with the findings of this survey.

Leaving the history of the beginnings and spread of the plan, the surveyors proceed to add up the experience of the fifty cities on the

administrative side. They find, as we could have confidently assured them they would, that full-time managers have been more effective than their predecessor mayors or commissioners and have had a better grasp of technique. The growth of the new profession is described and its improving concept of its proper role. The managers, of course, covered the whole human gamut, but the surveyors find that they characteristically did many desirable things: they coördinated departments, established orderly procedures and rules for employees, planned programs of capital investment, introduced budgets, centralized purchasing and close financial controls, enlarged services and fostered city planning. They made firm and speedy peace with hold-over personnel, never had the wholesale cleanouts of municipal staffs that the latter feared, usually but not always disregarded politics in appointments, kept turnover low, and built morale as executives do who know the business. "The majority of employees who had had experience under earlier governments preferred the city manager plan largely because of the greater security of employment."

As to public relations "most cities started publishing annual reports soon after the adoption of the manager plan."

MANAGER AND POLITICS

Part III, the longest and to me the most illuminating division of the book, is headed "Politics." Here we find the composite story of the councilmen whom, an early manager complained, he found so hard to herd, the spoils system before and after, petty politics, red tape, and the conflict of political ideas. The surveyors in sorting out the forty-eight cities found that they had three types of political conditions under their view —a most interesting discovery: (1) machine-ridden cities, (2) faction-ridden cities, (3) community-governed cities, i.e., non-contentious cities without machines and factions. Obviously, the city manager plan enjoyed better chances for peaceful progress in type 3 cities than the others and was subjected to milder strains; their stories are undramatic—"happy is the land that hath no history." Indeed, a major lesson of these books is the advantage of having a community unified in social character, free of mutual distrust, unseparated by railroad tracks or religious or racial cleavages. And it is news, to me at least, that we have so good a proportion of such towns in America; in England, I understand, they are far more common than here.

The city manager plan brought changes into the work of councilmen; they switched attention from details to policies, their business came before them in good order and with better technical preparation. In the machine-ridden cities, abrupt abandonment of "spoils" in conflict with local tradition was frequent but constituted a contentious issue in itself which rocked local politics for several years thereafter, resulting eventually in settling to a new equilibrium on a higher plane. Managers steadily progressed in getting the hands of councilmen out of patronage and administrative detail although many

charters forced more matters of perfunctory detail before councils than was necessary.

The evidence somewhat upsets the classic theory that all groups should be represented in the council; facilities for that are in America an unused safety valve, it seems. The classic conflicts in our municipal governments are, as we know, between some classless synthesized clan and the general interest.

"The whole idea of group representation depends upon certain assumptions that are not truly applicable to city government and overlooks what is usually the most important issue of municipal politics. It assumes that the policy determined by the council will depend more on what groups or factions the councilmen belong to than on how much public spirit and intelligence the councilmen have. A councilman elected by the votes of a neighborhood of underprivileged citizens, according to this theory, should be more active in promoting that neighborhood's welfare than a councilman elected at large by some other group of voters.' In the cities covered by this survey, however, real changes in municipal policy were rarely brought about by competition among self-interested political groups. The most conspicuous changes were not made by representatives acting on mandates from a group of their constituents that stood to benefit by the new policies; on the contrary, they were made by leaders of the community as a whole, acting out of public spirit on the proposals of a trained administrator. For example, there were the inaugurations of the comprehensive health, recreation, and welfare programs in Dayton, in Austin, and Janesville. These programs were established on the recommendations of city managers by councilmen, most of whom were well-to-do and important businessmen, in the face of bitter political attacks from the traditional political leaders of the lower-income neighborhoods, the very neighborhoods that needed the new programs most."

AN EFFECTIVE PLAN

Finally, here is the verdict, documented as such an appraisal of an outdoor subject was never documented before in American political science:

"By comparison with the preceding forms of government the city manager plan brought a diminution of partisan or factional influence over the government. Councils appointed city managers without regard for their political affiliations, and the city managers, influenced by the nature of their jobs and the ethical standards of their association, threw their influence to the support of impartial administration. In half the cities studied the city manager's tenure was uninterrupted by political considerations, and in general the tenure of the city managers was steadily increasing.

"The city managers improved the organizations left them by the preceding forms of government. They brought to their jobs a scientific, or at least a businesslike, attitude and brought about far more coördination in their governments than had existed

before. The opportunity to concentrate leadership of administration in one person was one of the most conspicuous improvements afforded by the city manager plan.

"The city managers furthered long-range planning in city government and encouraged the employment of experts to advise cities on technical problems. The city manager plan brought about conspicuous improvements in personnel administration, raising the standards of public employment and heightening the interest of the employees in their work. The city managers provided more adequate financial information so that the councils could more intelligently determine fiscal policy, and they made it possible to put such policy into effect by improving the methods of financial management.

"These administrative improvements were effected through city managers by more public-spirited political leadership than many of these cities had known before. Some cities failed to maintain their early enthusiasm for the principles of city manager government, but their reaction was not great enough to destroy the improvements that had been made.

"The establishment of the city manager plan increased the prestige of the council and improved the status of expert administration in municipal government. It brought about a greater degree of separation between politics and administration, while increasing the control of the elected governing body over all aspects of municipal affairs."

There may never in our time again be so voluminous and thorough a study of the working of the city manager plan as in these three volumes. Certainly the doctrinaires and pip-squeaks who oppose the plan in local contests are smothered in competent evidence. The burden of proof is henceforth all on the opposition to the movement.

After Thirty Years

Milwaukee "will be free of debt by 1943," predicts Dan Hoan as he steps down from mayor's chair; advises other cities to go and do likewise.

By LLOYD GLADFELTER
The Milwaukee Journal

THE name of Daniel Webster Hoan was magic in Milwaukee up to April 2, 1940. The next day's election extras proclaimed Hoan's defeat as mayor by a thirty-two-year-old newcomer in politics, former Assistant City Attorney Carl F. Zeidler. Thus ended Dan Hoan's thirty years of public service to the city of Milwaukee, twenty-four as mayor and six as city attorney.

In 1910 Hoan, then twenty-nine, became Milwaukee's first Socialist city attorney. Still a comparative youngster he entered the race for mayor in 1916 and defeated Gerhard A. Bading. Thereafter he won another two-year term in 1918 and five four-year terms beginning in 1920. His record of successive—and successful—campaigns and administrations is unprecedented in the annals of American metropolitan cities. That record built him up as a power in his party, a leader among American mayors.

Now that his long reign is over, a rule that was made possible more by non-Socialists than by the party itself, Dan Hoan is not allowing himself to go to seed. He still is interested in good government and the other day signified his intention of continuing many of the activities that engaged his vigor while he was mayor.

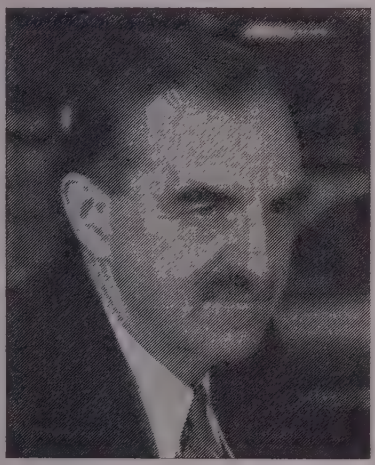
He will remain as president of the Great Lakes Harbors Association as long as his services are needed; he will continue with the Pan-American Congress of Municipalities, an organization of municipal officials embracing representatives of city governments in North, South, and Central America. He will still preach good government from the lecture platform. And between times he will practice law in Milwaukee, a profession for which he had prepared himself at the University of Wisconsin and Kent College of Law at Chicago.

One must view the full canvas of Dan Hoan's life to appreciate his contributions to good government. He was born of Irish parents in Waukesha, Wisconsin, March 12, 1881. His father was a blacksmith, made pumps and drove a four-horse rig between Milwaukee and Waukesha. When Dan was fourteen his father died and much of the support of the family fell upon the lad's shoulders. He went to work in a Waukesha hotel, learned how to cook so well that his services were demanded in Milwaukee and Chicago.

Fired by a desire to gain more knowledge he entered the University of Wisconsin in 1901 as a special student. His fame as a cook spread over the campus and he soon was engaged as cook at the Kappa Sigma fraternity, a group he later joined. He or-

ganized the first Socialist club of Wisconsin, entered school politics and in his first venture ran for senior class president—and was elected. He was graduated in 1905.

After completing his university course he went to Chicago, studied law at nights, and ran a restaurant during the day. In 1907 he was admitted to the bar in Wisconsin, soon opened an office in Milwaukee. Three years later he became the Socialist candidate for city attorney and won in the landslide which swept into office Mayor Emil Seidel and a complete slate of Socialist administrative officers.



Milwaukee Journal Photo

DANIEL W. HOAN
Former Mayor of Milwaukee

Recovering from the recent shock of his first political defeat, Hoan made plans for his future. At fifty-nine he still considered himself good for many more years of constructive work. His first inclination was to sever the ties that linked him with public and semi-public associations. First he consulted William George Bruce, Milwaukee's eighty-four-year-old elder statesman who for thirty years has been active in developing the city's port, determined to offer his resignation as president of the Great Lakes Harbors Association. Bruce convinced Hoan that his experience was of great value in the fight to develop the St. Lawrence deep waterway to the sea.

"The association is made up both of public officials and private citizens interested in extending ocean shipping to the Great Lakes. I still am intensely interested in achieving for Milwaukee and its sister cities the benefits of cheap water-borne transportation. The whole middle west will benefit from the waterway development. So I decided to remain as long as I can be of service," Hoan said.

In the Pan-American Congress of Municipalities Hoan sees the possibility of developing more understanding between cities in the Americas. Close coöperation among municipal governments in the western hemisphere, he believes, will bring the national governments and peoples into closer harmony and build up the "good neighbor" policy so consistently advocated by President Roosevelt.

"The United States fought to free Cuba from Spanish tyranny," Hoan said. "In Cuba we have a friendly link with South and Central America. This link is important and should not be overlooked."

At the first session of the Pan-American Congress in Havana, No-

vember 14-19, 1938, Hoan met and discussed problems of local and international scope with mayors and officials from every South and Central American country.

"In Latin America conditions are not the same as they are above the Rio Grande," he observed. "While the individual's interest in government in this country starts with the city, village, or town, the reverse is true in Latin America. There the cities are of minor importance; everything is controlled by the federal government."

If the town meeting idea of democracy could be cultivated in Latin America, he added, there would need be no fear in this country of our southern neighbors succumbing to dictatorships.

"The Pan-American Congress has brought about an exchange of ideas that should prove mutually beneficial," Hoan continued. "By building up mutual understanding we will eliminate the need for battleships in the future."

As a member of the commission for international coöperation, a sort of steering committee for the conference, Hoan suggested that American cities honor South and Central American national heroes, such as Simon Bolivar, by naming streets, boulevards, and parks in their honor.

"These small tributes to the great men of other American nations will serve as beacons of good will," he said.

On the home front, Hoan urged all cities to put their financial houses in order, "the way Milwaukee has done," and to take steps to own ultimately all of their public utilities.

Ownership of public utilities long had been one of Hoan's platform planks. Even though he frequently urged it, conservative Milwaukee, which repeatedly elected him in spite of his Socialist label, consistently refused to yield to his demands. Milwaukee liked Hoan for his honesty, his efficiency, and his ability. It enjoyed its own municipally-owned water works. But it would not vote to take control of its street railways, electric and gas services.

In defense of his utility stand, Hoan said there was "no reason wh cities in this country should not gain the control that municipalities in Europe have long had. It has been amply proved that municipal ownership not only promotes civic pride but also results in tax reduction."

"And," he added, "it keeps local money at home instead of sending it to the financial centers for distribution in dividends."

MILWAUKEE SOON DEBT-FREE

Other American cities were urged to pattern their finances after Milwaukee's.

"Our city will, in effect, be free of debt in 1943. From that time on all of our construction programs will be on a strictly cash basis. What we have done, others also can do," he asserted.

How has Milwaukee pushed itself so far along the road to a debt free estate?

"First by creating in 1923 a public debt amortization fund," Hoan explained. "We decided to set apart definite portions of interest and pen-

(Continued on Page 487)

Learning by Doing

Pennsylvania Intercollegiate Conference on Government a training school for students interested in politics; constitutional conventions, model legislatures, and political conventions demonstrate democracy in action.

By LEONARD B. GERSON and IRVING J. ZIPIN
Department of Political Science, Temple University

"LEARNING by doing" has been the theme which has dominated the field of education for the past fifty years. The chemistry laboratory, the practice teaching curriculum have taken a permanent place in the educational process. Until recently, however, students of government have always been denied the opportunity of "feeling the pulse of politics" through direct participation in the making of our laws.

The Pennsylvania Intercollegiate Conference on Government has demonstrated that it is an integral part of the education of Pennsylvania college students who show an active interest in politics. Every year, for three days in April, from two to three hundred students representing from thirty to forty colleges and universities throughout the Keystone state, assemble in the state capitol at Harrisburg as a model unicameral legislature, a model constitutional convention, a model governors' conference, or a model political convention. The conference met in its seventh annual meeting on April 18-21 of this year.

These sessions are "model" not because they represent what a more perfect deliberative body should be, but rather because the sessions are "small editions of the real thing"; in fact they are very much "the real thing."

The purpose of this conference has been to foster an interest in governmental problems among the students in colleges and universities by dramatizing the activities of the government in an unbiased and nonpartisan manner. Ever since its inception the conference's keynote has been "—not to preach; not even to teach; but merely to provide a means whereby students may learn how their government operates."

The students represent not only the various geographical areas of the state but also the different segments of our society. There are the religious groups, and such controversial measures as birth control have consistently aroused the violent opposition of the Catholic institutions.

Finally, the student representation may be classified according to small schools versus large schools, teachers and normal schools versus urban universities, and it is not unusual to find the urban-rural conflict prevalent in the regular legislature also persisting at these student meetings. In every respect, therefore, the students are a cross section of the political, economic, and social life of the commonwealth.

In the early fall of 1933, because

of the inadequacy of the anachronistic Pennsylvania constitution and the inability of their elders to obtain the convocation of a constitutional convention, Miss Genevieve Blatt and John P. Bracken, then students at the University of Pittsburgh, communicated with interested persons in other colleges and universities throughout the state about the possibility of staging a model state constitutional convention.

In April 1934, the first meeting of what is now the Pennsylvania Intercollegiate Conference on Government was held.[1] While the convention bore no practical fruits in the sense that political leaders in the commonwealth followed its example, so enthusiastically was the idea received that at this first meeting a movement arose among students and delegates participating for the establishment of a permanent organization to foster and maintain some form of state conference on government each year. A continuation committee composed of one representative from each of the twenty-nine charter-member schools represented at this first meeting was then delegated to work with the founders in formulating plans for an annual intercollegiate conference on government.

ORGANIZATION

This committee requested that Miss Blatt and Mr. Bracken serve as directors. Headquarters were established in Pittsburgh where they remain to the present day. A very great measure of the success of the conference is due to the patient and intelligent efforts of its directors, and especially Miss Blatt who has served as executive director for the past five years.

Any college or university in the commonwealth of Pennsylvania offering courses in the social sciences may obtain membership in the conference. Schools outside the state may be admitted as associate members. Since 1934, some fifty-three schools have attended, of which ten were state teachers colleges. Between thirty-five and forty of these schools are represented every year. Few member schools have been entirely lost, and those which do not send a delegation one year usually ask that their names be continued on the conference rolls. Roughly, about 50 per cent of the individual students return to the conference at least one year, while about 25 per cent have come back for two years. There are exceptional cases among the larger schools and universities where delegates attend the conference all through their undergraduate years.

The organization consists of an executive committee of two student representatives and one faculty representative from each school. This committee selects and controls the programs and policies of the conference, determines the form of the convention from year to year, and elects the executive director, the secretary, and the treasurer. This committee meets immediately after the last general session of the conference. The executive director is in complete control of all matters between sessions,

[1] See also "Collegians Steal Legislators' Fire," by Malcolm Webb, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1936.

and appoints regional directors for each section of the state to promote the program and policies of the conference in that area and to act as a liaison officer between the director and the member schools in that vicinity. These directors also sponsor district "tune-up" meetings, see to pre-conference preparations and arrangements and, if possible, recruit new schools. There have been between five and six such regional directors, representing usually the northeast, southeast, north central, south central, northwest, and southwest regions. At the last executive committee meeting provision was made for the selection of a historian, appointed by the director, to keep the records of the conference. A publicity force also assists the director in public relations work.

FACULTY ADVISORS

Each school delegation has a faculty advisor who assists in the preparations for the conference and generally accompanies the delegation to the state capitol. Certain of them are consulted by the executive director on matters of conference policy; otherwise, they have very limited official powers at the meetings, for it has always been felt that students should "run" this conference and that faculty participation should be reduced to a minimum. At the convention faculty members have no voice or vote, and are not permitted on the convention floor.

The only real participation of faculty advisors is in the recommendation of appointees for committee chairmanships and in the selection of candidates for the general chairmanship of the conference, the most important student office at these sessions. Appointments to the former positions are made by the executive director on the basis of faculty recommendations. Election to the latter position is by the conference from among two or three candidates, selected by a faculty interviewing committee, which considers the various candidates' experience and training. Even this careful method of selection is no assurance that the students designated as candidates are capable of holding in check an unusually well informed and enthusiastic body of students, and while most of the chairmen have been able to do so, a few have been unable to cope with the job facing them.

Since 1934, the Conference has met in the following forms:

1934—Model constitutional convention
1935—Model unicameral legislature
1936—Model political convention
1937—Model unicameral legislature
1938—Model governors' conference
1939—Model unicameral legislature
1940—Model political convention

Delegates seem more enthusiastic about the model unicameral legislature than any other form of meeting. This is because the state government field has dominated the conventions, since the students are more intimately concerned with the immediate problems facing their own state.

It is now an established policy that the conference meet as a legislature of one house in every odd-numbered year—these being the years in which

the Pennsylvania legislature convenes. When the conference met as a legislature for the first time, in 1935, the constitutional prescriptions which controlled its scope of activity were those in the model constitution adopted at the 1934 convention. The 1937 legislative meeting operated under the present constitution of Pennsylvania, adopted in 1874, nevertheless acting as a unicameral body. The 1939 session was the same as that in 1935, and the coming legislative meeting in 1941 will again be under the present Pennsylvania constitution.

The first two unicameral sessions consisted of only one hundred members—each delegation usually obtaining representation in proportion to its size. The excess delegates had a right to speak on the floor but no vote. It has been proposed that in the 1941 legislature all delegates shall be allowed to vote.

In the years in which the conference met as a political convention the Republican and Democratic parties were likewise meeting to choose presidential nominees and draw up party platforms. The collegiate meetings, however, draw up a platform only, although in the 1940 convention a straw poll of presidential prospects of both the Republican and Democratic parties resulted in an overwhelming vote for President Roosevelt. As a national party convention the school delegations represented different states in accordance with a preference indicated to the executive director early in the year. These meetings were extremely colorful, many of the delegations coming dressed in the apparel familiar to their native state; many of them bore placards espousing the scenic beauty and industrial supremacy of their particular states.

CONFERENCE IN ACTION

Ordinarily member schools begin the business of selecting their delegations and preparing material for the conference around the first of the year, if not earlier. Preparation in some cases is rather sketchy, in others it is very complete. In some of the more active institutions, weekly meetings of the delegation are held in order to sift through the various proposals, discuss their merits, and map out strategy to secure their adoption. The executive committee in recent years has required that the member institutions mimeograph sufficient copies of all proposals to provide one copy for each member of the conference committee to which any given proposal shall be assigned.

In advance of the delegations themselves the student leaders or chairmen representing the various schools arrive in Harrisburg the evening before the conference convenes. There, friendships and alignments are begun and promises exchanged. There, also, the director discusses the policy and general conduct to be followed at the meeting. Finally, on this evening, the faculty committee interviews prospective candidates for the general chairmanship. The next morning the full force of the delegations arrive by automobile, bus, and train. In the last several years, because of the size of its delegation,

one of the larger universities has hired a railroad car.

Early in the first day of the conference, the delegates convene in open session in which they are usually addressed by some prominent figure either in the state or national government or in the academic field. Thus, the conference has been addressed by the Governor of Pennsylvania, and, on several occasions, by the Secretary of the Commonwealth. The year of the model governors' conference, Dr. Henry W. Toll, then executive director of the Council of State Governments, was the guest speaker. At both sessions of the model party convention, before the delegates themselves sat down to draw up a model platform, they were addressed by representatives of the various political parties including a keynote speaker from among their own group.

COMMITTEES MEET

Following the addresses the delegates retire to the regular committee chambers in the state capitol building. The number of these committees has never run above ten. For the unicameral legislatures a representative list of committees includes: education, finance, governmental organization (state and local), labor and industry, natural resources, public utilities, social welfare (including public assistance and social insurance), and agriculture. The scope of subject matter is, of course, enlarged and the type of committee changed when the convention sits as a model political convention to include such subjects as foreign affairs, social security, and intergovernmental relations.

Reclining in the easy chairs of the senior solons of the state, the discussion of the committee members is usually informal and productive, but when basic issues are treated debate sometimes becomes acrimonious. Often two or three schools will line up together to force through their combined proposals and measures; pet ideas are sometimes sold across the bargain counter. Such issues as state ownership and operation of coal mines, public ownership of utilities and natural resources, questions of war, peace, and foreign relations, and state sales taxes are extremely provocative and the lines of battle are sharply drawn not on the basis of partisan politics, but rather on the grounds of personal conviction and principle. The gavel of the committee chairman raps often to quiet some eager and over-zealous delegate bent on getting his program adopted.

As proposals are passed by the several committees, they are sent to a rules committee consisting of one delegate from each school. This committee occupies itself with the important functions of editing the proposals for presentation to the general or plenary sessions, determining on the basis of the total measures the amount of time to be allotted to each. This committee also recommends the order for submission of committee reports to the plenary session and provides rules under which they are to be considered.

Sessions of the regular committees often extend into the late evening as

the students weigh, debate, and compromise. The use of subcommittees is often resorted to when valuable committee time would be taken up in redrafting or harmonizing bills and proposals. The amazing feature about these committee sessions is the prodigious amount of material which is discussed and voted upon, considering the fact that few bills are "railroaded" through.

Following committee adjournment the delegates, in recent years, have rejoined the members of their own delegation for the purpose of caucusing on issues and men. By this time, delegates have been able to strike up friendships with other schools and have been able to "line up" votes and support for particular measures and candidates.

It is in these caucuses that delegations decide either to support or "knife" the proposals that have been introduced into the committees earlier in the day.

CHAIRMAN CHOSEN

Candidates for the office of general conference chairman have by this time made themselves well known to the leaders of the several delegations and the caucuses decide whom they will support in the election the next morning. The pledges and promises broken are exceeded only by the number made, and bargain is the keynote of the hour. Alignments shift, delegation leaders exhort their members to vote as a solid bloc. A little patronage in the form of secretaryships, tellers, and parliamentarians, is often used by the candidates as a means of prying doubtful delegations "off the fence."

The general or plenary session convenes early Saturday morning, the second day of the conference, and the election of a general chairman is the first order of business. This election is hotly fought. Recently, one of the larger universities began the use of whips to see that its own delegation and all other delegations promised to its candidate were awakened in time to attend the election in the morning. After the successful candidate assumes the chair, the session gets down to the business of issues and platforms. The plenary meeting continues throughout Saturday until dinner time, and Sunday morning until noon, when the conference adjourns and the delegates start for home.

The sessions are characterized by surprisingly adept parliamentary maneuvers. Delegates are most exacting on procedural questions, and twice in the history of the conference chairmen have been forced to withdraw, unable to cope with the parliamentary situation which arose. Partly because of the short period of time in which the youthful solons meet, there are few long-winded addresses, more debates being germane to the issues discussed. Only when a matter becomes extremely controversial have the delegates been able to obtain a waiver of the rules and permission to discuss the question at length. In one year the question of state ownership and control of mines almost broke up the session when a bloc of delegates headed by the son of a local mine owner threatened to

leave the conference and go home. A compromise measure settled the issue. Among the larger urban universities, with delegations of twenty to forty members, strict delegation discipline is most essential, and is very often enforced through the use of delegation whips. Voting is viva voce except when a division is called, which is frequent.

LEGISLATION AND PROPOSALS

The liberal and progressive attitude of college students in general has permeated the work of this conference. Whether or not the students are imbued by the New Deal philosophy, invariably they favor such New Deal measures as social security, the TVA program, stronger protection and security for labor groups, abolition of holding companies, subsidization and credits to farmers, slum clearance and housing, and similar measures. In the field of Pennsylvania politics such modern trends in government were proposed as a judicial council, city-county consolidation of large urban areas, and the right to vote for a manager type of local government. Graduated income taxes were provided for, a state tax commission was established, as was also a social security commission to concern itself with matters of social insurance in the commonwealth. A more efficient administration of the public school system was another measure passed, as well as provision for compulsory automobile liability insurance.

The model state constitution adopted at the first meeting in 1934 follows very closely the *Model State Constitution* drafted under the auspices of the National Municipal League. In those years in which the conference meets as a legislature, bills of the nature previously mentioned are invariably passed, except that with changing social and economic conditions, the legislation adopted is made to fit new problems. In the federal field, the model national party conventions responded to similar changes in national issues. Thus, the platform adopted by the 1940 party convention, while in many ways containing provisions similar to those in the 1936 platform, is in tune with the new situations confronting the nation today, especially with regard to labor, war, national defense, etc.

It can be said that these students are definitely for a "stay out of war" policy, for strong Pan-Americanism, and adequate national defense. They are pro-labor, feel that industry and capital must be given every aid and encouragement, and support government reorganization and efficiency, social security and unemployment legislation, and widening of the tax base and abolition of tax exemptions.

In 1938, when the group met as a model governors' conference, each delegation represented a different state, the chairman of which served as Governor, other members being assigned the title of some important state official. Each delegate prepared proposals dealing with interstate aspects of his official duties and responsibilities in that field of government. Delegates were divided into fourteen committees, and, at adjournment time, accomplishments of the conference had been embodied in seventy-

eight resolutions calling for coöperation among the states in the solution of problems in almost every field of state government.[2]

A GENERAL EVALUATION

A definite interest and enthusiasm is generated by student participation in a conference of this sort. This is aptly illustrated by the fact that a number of former student delegates, now graduated and in professional fields, have come back to these meetings every year since the creation of the conference, to sit as spectators on the sidelines. This interest has also seeped across Pennsylvania boundaries into other states and regions; letters have come to the executive director from colleges and government agencies throughout the nation desiring information on the work of the conference. Public officials as well as students in governmental fields have expressed their enthusiasm. That the Pennsylvania conference has had any influence in developing student-participating bodies elsewhere is hard to say, although these letters would seem to indicate such a fact.

The conference itself is slowly becoming institutionalized. Students who attend once are more than eager to return the following year, and colleges and universities, whether successful or not at the sessions, face the coming one with greater zeal.

These meetings have also served to develop a deep sense of pride and responsibility among students in their handiwork. They must necessarily have a definite influence on the later life of the delegates attending, for many are students preparing for the study of law, entrance into the public service or the teaching profession. Their participation in actual debate and discussion will help to train them for these fields as well as teach them to think on their feet and for themselves. For this reason, these meetings fill a long felt void in the average college curriculum.

Not only has actual participation served to instruct and teach the issues and principles being discussed, but it has given youthful legislators an understanding of the way in which their government operates. It serves as a clinic for practical politics and government. It teaches that the spirit of compromise and the value of discussion are essential principles of our representative democracy. It sounds the true democratic keynote in that it demonstrates the method by which laws and public principles are enacted.

Finally, these meetings are in no way radical gatherings, but are, in fact, an important means of combating the spread of influence both from the left and from the right. For, besides giving to the youthful delegates an appreciation of the manner in which their representative bodies function, they teach the student how to operate within the regularly constituted channels of our democratic system. It is therefore safe to say that if students, through conferences of this nature, can see that democracy works by being shown how it works, respect for their government will increase greatly.

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[2]For a more detailed discussion of this particular conference see "Student Solons Demonstrate Coöperation," *State Government,* June 1938.

Los Angeles Attacks Metropolitan Problem

Finds in functional consolidation a compromise between advantages of unified administration and local self-government which can be put in operation gradually with no political upheaval.

By JOHN McDIARMID
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THE government of large metropolitan areas unquestionably offers one of the most significant of the contemporary challenges to American political inventiveness. The duplications, conflicts, and inefficiencies which result from a multiplicity of political jurisdictions in an urban region which is in many respects a social and economic unit are painfully evident in each of our ninety-five metropolitan centers. As officials in numerous fields—police, fire, health, water supply, and transportation—can eloquently testify, governmental problems are no respecters of artificial corporate boundaries. The challenge has been underscored and broadcast as a result of many recent intensive studies of metropolitan problems,[1] but progress toward meeting that challenge is still relatively slight.

That Los Angeles is no exception to the general rule a long succession of studies, reports, and proposals with respect to its metropolitan governmental relationships clearly indicates. Best known are the 1932 and 1935 studies of the city and county official research agencies, the detailed report of the county-supported Committee on Governmental Simplification, 1935, and the 1936 report of Mayor Shaw's Citizens' Committee on Governmental Reorganization. Most recently the entire problem was made the subject of a week's discussion at the University of Southern California's Institute of Government, June 1940.

Los Angeles is still groping toward a solution. At one time or another since 1900 some use has been made of all but two of the methods enumerated by Studenski as the principal steps in the direction of integration.[2] Coöperation, annexation, expansion of county services, extraterritorial services by the central city, special purpose authorities—all these have been utilized in varying degree. Only city-county consolidation and the federated or borough plan have been spurned, although interestingly enough the Los Angeles city charter

[1] See especially the series of detailed studies of the Chicago area made under the direction of Professor Merriam; Paul Studenski, *The Government of Metropolitan Areas in the United States*, National Municipal League, 1930; the current studies of the Princeton Local Government survey under Professor Carpenter; and the forthcoming monograph on Metropolitan Government by Dr. Victor Jones.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

authorizes a borough system which has never been put into effect.

In its shotgun attack upon the problem, Los Angeles has relied heavily upon annexation in the past. Over seventy times the city has resorted to this procedure in increasing its 1850 area of twenty-eight square miles to the 451 square miles of 1940. However, the increasing difficulty of effecting further consolidations as suburban cities solidify their political independence[3] makes it probable that annexation will play a relatively insignificant rôle in the immediate future. A complete city-county consolidation, as occasionally proposed, would be practically and politically impossible. Even if it could be achieved such a plan would carry a price in the loss of local autonomy which many observers believe is unjustifiably high.

Minor political consolidations will no doubt continue in Los Angeles, but it is in another direction that Angelenos are now striving for the solution of their metropolitan ills. Functional consolidation, or the centralization of governmental services which can best be discharged by a single agency, does not disturb existing political boundaries or powers, and thus is a compromise between the advantages of unified administration of common activities on the one hand and local self-government on the other. As a compromise it will not measure up in efficiency to a single metropolitan government nor in the values of democratic control by interested citizens to a system of completely autonomous local communities. It is thus subject to criticism by the philosophers of both camps. However, like many other famous American political compromises, it has the all-important quality of acceptability, and furthermore can be put into operation gradually and cautiously without any sudden or startling political upheaval. Los Angeles has already made significant strides in consolidating functions, and an increasing number of informed students of the Southern California scene believe that continued progress in this direction represents the most profitable attack on local problems.

[3]On this point, see Victor Jones, "Politics of Integration in Metropolitan Areas," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January, 1940, p. 161.

LOS ANGELES BACKGROUND

It is well to remember that the solution to metropolitan problems in any given region must be worked out with due regard to existing local characteristics and peculiarities. A plan found profitable in one center will not necessarily be successful if transplanted in another. Consequently, before examining more closely the Los Angeles experience in the consolidation of governmental functions, one should take note of three outstanding general features of government in the area. In the first place, the metropolitan region lies entirely in one state and almost entirely in a single county. In the latter are located forty-five incorporated cities, about as many unincorporated towns ranging in population up to 175,000, and a total of over 450 separate taxing agencies. Yet, as stated by the

Simplification Committee, "the Los Angeles metropolitan area and the county of Los Angeles are so nearly identical as to make the terms substantially synonymous."[4] This is a significant contrast to other large urban areas which spill over into several counties and several states, thus complicating the pattern of political jurisdictions and powers. It lends weight to the Simplification Committee's conclusion that the county is the "logical agency" for the performance of whatever governmental functions it may be desirable to administer on a metropolitan-wide basis.

A PROGRESSIVE COUNTY

Secondly, the Los Angeles County government is unique among county governments in many important respects. It has an annual budget of over $80,000,000, and thus is the only metropolitan county with a budget exceeding that of its central city. Its government is progressive far beyond most American counties, a fact illustrated by a merit system which embraces even department heads, and by recent adoption of a county manager plan which gives promise of permanence.[5] It has for many years been performing numerous services of a municipal or urban nature, including health protection, street lighting, welfare and hospitalization, engineering, fire protection, sewage disposal and various others.

In the third place, the governmental units in Los Angeles are well provided with legal authority for effecting important functional consolidations. California counties as well as cities over 3,500 have the constitutional right to adopt home rule charters. The significance of this fact is apparent when one discovers the Los Angeles County charter provision authorizing the county to assume and discharge any municipal function legally transferred by a city or town within the county.[6] Similarly, city charters such as that of Los Angeles authorize transfer of city functions, by contract or otherwise, to the county or state government.[7]

For the non-home rule cities incorporated under general laws, enabling legislation is needed for functional transfers, and many such laws are in effect, covering among other fields assessment and collection of taxes, library service, health service, sanitation, personnel administration, and police protection. The unincorporated sections of the county, some of which are densely populated, automatically receive county-administered "municipal" services. Other types of legal authority for metropolitan-wide services are illustrated by the 1915 flood control act and the metropolitan water district act of 1927. The former established a single flood control district which covers the metropolitan region, is governed by the County Board of Supervisors and served by other

[4]Committee on Governmental Simplification, *Report*, Los Angeles, 1935, pp. 7-8.

[5]See "Streamlined County Government —Los Angeles Style," by John McDiarmid, National Municipal Review, November 1939.

[6]Article XII, sec. 56½.

[7]Article I, sec. 2.

county officers, and generally is an integral part of the county structure despite its separate finances. The water district act has empowered cities to associate voluntarily for the purpose of bringing Colorado River water to Southern California. At present thirteen cities are members of the district, which has a separate governing board with taxing and borrowing powers. Other cities may join if and when they find it desirable.

PAST ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Consolidation of functions in Los Angeles County has been completely effected in some fields, has made very substantial progress in others, and has achieved relatively minor successes in still a third group of activities. These three classes cannot always be clearly distinguished but they will serve as an outline for a discussion of the Los Angeles picture.[8]

Consolidations which are complete or virtually so include the services of the following agencies or officials: registrar of voters, recorder of documents, superior court, district attorney, coroner, public administrator, public defender, probation department and juvenile hall, flood control district, department of charities and welfare, general hospital, Olive View Sanitarium (tubercular hospital), Rancho Los Amigos (county farm), sealer of weights and measures, and Los Angeles Museum.

It is readily apparent that a number of these services are of a type frequently rendered by county governments in the United States. For example, the county-wide prosecution of felonies by a district attorney, the coroner's investigations, and a single county farm are familiar to most Americans. On the other hand, some of these Los Angeles consolidations are exceptionally noteworthy. Public welfare activities within the city of Los Angeles were transferred to the county by an agreement of 1915. Today, though the administration of relief to unemployables is a county responsibility throughout California, many visitors from other sections of the United States are surprised to find such cities as Los Angeles without any responsibility for welfare administration.

Also in 1915, the inspection and regulation of weights and measures was consolidated in a county department, and existing agencies in the cities of Los Angeles, Pasadena, and Santa Monica were disbanded. The words of the head of this county department have a significance far wider than the specific field to which they refer: "Placing all of this work under one department enables us to give more efficient and economical service, and to maintain inspection outfits for all branches of the work that a smaller department could not have."[9] Unified administration of flood control projects, probation and juvenile detention activities, and voters' registration are other out-

[8] A monograph on governmental cooperation in the Los Angeles area is to be published by the Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of California at Los Angeles in the near future.

[9] Los Angeles County Employees' Association, *Los Angeles County Government*, 1934, p. 25.

standing instances among those enumerated above.

PARTIAL CONSOLIDATION

Activities for which consolidation is substantial but not complete include: assessment and collection of taxes, health administration, library service, sanitation, regional planning, and the municipal courts. Since the county has to assess and collect county taxes on all taxable property within the county, there is no logical administrative justification for duplicating these activities in city governments. Under general law and charter provisions the forty-five incorporated cities in Los Angeles County have authority to contract with the county for these services. Los Angeles City made the transfer in 1917, and thirty-seven other cities have followed suit. School districts and various other special assessment districts are also served by the county assessor and county tax collector so that a high degree of consolidation actually exists today. The fact that the city of Los Angeles pays annually some $22,000 for services which it could not duplicate for less than $700,000 gives some indication of the advantages of the arrangement.[10]

In health administration, the large well equipped county department performs health services for the unincorporated sections of the county as well as for thirty-nine of the forty-five incorporated cities. Until 1935 services to cities were on a contract basis, standards were far higher than most of the cities could have provided themselves, and the amounts paid by the cities were small, usually far below cost to the county. An act of 1935 required the county to furnish free upon request basic health services prescribed by state law and regulation. Since that time contracts are necessary only when a given city desires services in excess of the standard type. Los Angeles, Pasadena, Long Beach, and Beverly Hills are the chief cities which retain and support their own health departments, but they pay heavily for the privilege, since they contribute approximately two-thirds of the county property tax revenues from which the county health department is financed, yet receive relatively few direct benefits in return.

Library service is furnished by the county to all unincorporated areas and to twenty-five of the incorporated cities. A uniform library tax is paid by all areas, both incorporated and otherwise, which receive the standard service. Additional services may be made the subject of special contracts between the county and

[10]While this is a bright picture from the administrative point of view, it has another side. Saddled with a charter tax rate limitation of $1.25 per $100 assessed valuation, the city has been hard hit for revenues as the county assessor reduced valuations some 37 per cent from a 1929 peak. With no charter limitation the county increased its rate from $.88 to $1.51 during this period. Pasadena, one of the cities retaining assessment functions, though also with a charter rate limitation, was able to raise its valuations from approximately 45 per cent (the county standard) to 75 per cent of true value for city tax purposes. Los Angeles City officials were helpless as tax revenues fell off some $9,000,000 during a period when the desirability of correspondingly large cuts in expenditures was, to say the least, questionable.

cities or library districts set up for the purpose in unincorporated territory. In contrast to the health field, cities supporting their own libraries are relieved of any taxes for the financing of the county system, yet have the option of accepting county library service whenever they so desire. The Simplification Committee pointed to "attendant economies and substantial increase in service by reason of larger and more mobile book collections," and concluded that this was an "excellent pattern and foundation for centralizing library and other administrations."[11]

In the field of sanitation, especially sewage collection and disposal, the pattern of consolidation is confused, but important economies have been achieved by coöperative effort. An integrated trunk sewer system has been constructed in the southern section of the county through the cooperation of nine sanitation districts embracing over a dozen cities as well as numerous unincorporated sections. The work of all nine districts is carried on by one central agency under general county supervision. Also in this field numerous cities and districts contract with the city of Los Angeles for sewer connections with the central city sewer system. The Simplification Committee discovered over eighty contracts relating to sanitation matters in which Los Angeles City was involved.

PLANNING PROGRESS

The Los Angeles County Regional Planning Commission was established in 1923 and thus became the first county agency of its kind in the nation. With a capable technical staff it has developed into one of America's outstanding local planning organizations. In addition to developing regional plans for the entire county it has exercised the functions of a local planning and zoning agency in the unincorporated thickly settled communities. Outstanding achievements have been the development of a master county highway plan, a comprehensive traffic survey, and more recently a detailed land use survey of over five hundred square miles of the metropolitan area. The plans prepared, however, require voluntary coöperation of the incorporated cities for their execution. The county highway plan has been adopted by practically all of the incorporated cities as it relates to their territory, and generally speaking informal coöperation in planning matters has been substantial. The Committee on Simplification, while commending past achievements in this field, recommended the substitution of "legally sanctioned coöperation or unification for the present practice that depends so largely upon personal initiative and compatibility among officials."[12]

The municipal courts of Los Angeles and Long Beach deserve some mention in a recounting of functional consolidations primarily because they fit into a county judicial system in which there are no serious duplications or conflicts in jurisdiction. A good example of an integrated municipal court having minor civil and

[11] *Op. cit.*, pp. 15, 69.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

criminal jurisdiction, the Los Angeles Municipal Court was established in 1926 by the consolidation of the Justice Court of Los Angeles Township and the Los Angeles City Police Court.

Additional functions which have been consolidated at least to some degree include: personnel administration, water supply, police protection, legal services, engineering, provision of jail facilities, and purchasing. In most of these instances the potentialities of consolidation have hardly been scratched, and some of them could be cited as activities in which effective coördination is sadly lacking. Nevertheless a beginning has been made in each case.

Following an enabling act of 1935, seven cities have contracted with the County Civil Service Commission for personnel services. With respect to the immediate future this field is unquestionably the most promising in this third category.

Many disputes and conflicts still exist in the field of water supply, which is so vital to the survival of the Southern California plain, but the Metropolitan Water District is a notable effort at coöperation in which thirteen cities are now engaged.

POLICE CONSOLIDATION

In the police protection field the principal consolidation has been brought about by the county charter of 1913, which abolished the elected constables in the forty-odd townships of the county and substituted an appointive constabulary under the direction and control of the sheriff. This was an important move, but the sheriff and the forty-five city police departments today still lack a central records system, an effectively coördinated communication system, and the advantages of legally effected coordination or unification. Of some interest are the following minor instances of consolidation: legal advice furnished the 150 school districts within the county by the county counsel, engineering activities in the unincorporated sections carried on by the county surveyor, the offering of county jail facilities to a few cities on a contract basis, and the services of the county purchasing agent to approximately one hundred school districts.

Conditions in Los Angeles County are exceptionally favorable for experimentation with functional consolidation, and significant steps have already been taken in this direction. While many persons agree that a number of major governmental problems in the metropolitan area demand a unified or coördinated attack, the exact functions which should be consolidated, the degree of rapidity with which such consolidation should be pushed, and the exact procedure or method to be followed all are subject to controversy and differing points of view.

LOCAL AUTONOMY RETAINED

A large measure of policy-determination and self-expression in local matters will probably be retained by individual communities regardless of future administrative consolidations, and properly so. Standards and variety of service demanded by local residents will necessarily vary with

such important social factors as wealth, racial pattern, and location. Pasadena and Beverly Hills, for example, demand and are willing to finance such a high quality of local health services that their uniform application to the entire region would be prohibitively costly.

There are several inequities in existing relationships in Los Angeles. Densely settled unincorporated areas receive excellent services of a municipal nature from Los Angeles County, and generally pay a tax bill which is proportionately less than that of their city neighbors. They feel no need to incorporate, and are actually being partially supported by city residents who contribute taxes to the county general fund. Again, where the county renders free or below-cost service to some of the forty-five cities, the remaining ones are penalized financially for maintaining their own departments. Health is the prime illustration of this situation, as indicated above. In general, these inequities, together with a dispute over the allocation of gasoline tax funds received from the state, have prompted several movements on the part of city representatives for separation of Los Angeles City from the county. Such a step would be a catastrophe for the region as a whole, and has few proponents today, but the abuses at which it aimed have not been wholly removed. The extension to other fields of the pattern of county library service, based upon payments for benefits received, is worth serious consideration. It would be an extremely grave mistake, however, to attempt a complete and inflexible application of the benefit theory, as we learned in the general taxation field long ago. The resources of the entire metropolitan area must be pooled if major governmental problems of the community are to be solved satisfactorily.

It would be far from correct to leave the impression that all significant pressures in Los Angeles point toward functional consolidation. Some obstacles are personal, some practical, and a few legal. All three can be illustrated in the field of health administration. Both city and county of Los Angeles have large, well established health departments, headed by forceful directors of many years service. Who is to absorb whom? A county charter provision which makes it impossible for the technicians of the city department to retain their civil service status upon transfer to the county intrudes a serious legal obstruction.

It is worth repeating that the county government is the logical agency for the assumption of most centralized functions in the Los Angeles area. With enlarged duties, however, it becomes increasingly essential that this unit be as well organized and administered as possible. It is no mere fortuity that the county's Committee on Simplification and the city's Committee on Governmental Reorganization both devoted major portions of their reports to proposals for improvements in the county structure and administration. Subsequently, a modified county manager plan has been inaugurated with marked success, but further reform

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City-County Separation in Virginia

Overlapping of political authority and confusion of responsibility have been avoided in Virginia by complete political separation of municipal and county governments.

By RAYMOND B. PINCHBECK
University of Richmond

WRITING in 1926, Dr. Thomas H. Reed points out that, "In England, whence we derived the fundamentals of our county system and our general conception of the relationship of city and county, it was the custom, even centuries ago, to confer county powers on specially favored boroughs. From 1835 until recently it was the practice to make every borough of 50,000 population or more a separate county. In this country, however, the general tendency has been to leave the cities, irrespective of their size, in the county where they territorially lie. *Virginia alone among the states of the union has systematically followed the English practice. In that commonwealth all first-class cities (over 10,000 population) are at the same time counties. Elsewhere there have been only scattered instances of city-county consolidation.*"[1]

In other states than Virginia there have been isolated cases of county-city consolidation such as in the case of Baltimore in 1849, San Francisco in 1856, St. Louis in 1876, and Denver in 1902. The counties and cities bearing the names of New Orleans and Philadelphia have the same boundaries while Boston and Suffolk County are almost identical. The waste of duplicated services and offices and the confusion of responsibility of overlapping political authority have led to generations of struggle and many attempts to consolidate American counties and adjoining cities, or to achieve what has been done from the beginning in Virginia, to effect complete political separation of counties and cities.

In 1634 the Virginia colony was divided into eight shires or counties with the creation of many other counties to follow. The county court was the legislative and judicial governing body. This county court, composed of justices of the peace appointed by the governor on the nomination of the encumbent justices, appointed the sheriff who served as a police and court officer, the tax collector and treasurer, the county clerk, the county coroner, and other county officials and employees.

This county system, in which the sheriff was a type of county manager and which provided for no direct local citizen control, was continued without material change by the Virginia constitutions of 1776, 1830, and until 1850 when the constitution of

[1] *Municipal Government in the United States.* New York, 1926, page 364.

that year created thirteen elective county offices. The fundamental framework of Virginia county government provided in the constitution of 1850 continues to the present time although the constitution was revised in 1869, 1902, and 1928. The latter constitution permits the General Assembly to provide optional forms of county government different from that detailed in the constitution.

FIRST CITY CHARTERED

In spite of the fact that the Virginia county has been from the earliest beginnings of the Virginia colony the basic unit of local government, the Colonial Council and the General Assembly (begun in 1619) were deeply interested in the creation of Virginia cities and towns. This is evidenced by the names of some of the early counties such as James City and Charles City. Williamsburg was the first city chartered in Virginia when it received its charter from the council in 1722, after its approval by a formal petition of freeholders and inhabitants. The late Governor of Virginia, John Garland Pollard, himself a former mayor of Williamsburg, writes as follows relative to the importance of the creation of this first Virginia city:

> Thus was created a new type of government in Virginia. In the matter of representation it broke the old custom which made the county the unit. For a long time it remained unique; how unique is shown, years later, by Jefferson's adoption of the slogan: "Divide the counties into wards!" The counties still were the bases of government. Williamsburg takes on significance as the first successful attempt to provide a smaller unit for Virginia.[2]

The founding and evolution of the city government of Richmond, the third and present capital of Virginia, demonstrates the development of the independent city. Colonel William Byrd, in April 1737, laid out the cities of Richmond and Petersburg. Five years later, in May 1742, the town of Richmond was established in the county of Henrico by a statute "enacted by the lieutenant governor, council, and burgesses of the present General Assembly."

It was not until May 1782 that Richmond was chartered as the sixth Virginia city. The new charter provided that all freeholders of improved or unimproved lots in the city, regardless of whether they were resident in the city, and housekeepers and inhabitants who had resided in the city at any time for three months without the intermission of any twelve months, and who possessed movable or immovable property valued at one hundred pounds or more, should meet and elect by ballot twelve able and fit freeholders and inhabitants of the city. These twelve officials publicly elected, by ballot among themselves, one of their number to act as mayor, another as recorder, and four others as aldermen of the city. The other six members served as the common council. The twelve popularly elected officials were known as the Common Hall.

It will be noted that Richmond, now one of fourteen cities in the United States still using the bicameral

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[2] *Modern Government in a Colonial City,* by Luther Gulick. New York, 1932, page 24.

type of large council, originally had a unicameral council. It was not until the charter of April 1874 that Richmond had its present large bicameral council.

Virginia now has twenty-four cities each of which is politically independent of the county or counties in which it is situated. At the same time each of the one hundred Virginia counties is entirely independent of political control by the city or cities which adjoin the county. In the case of the state's 179 towns the property of town citizens is still subject to county taxation and the town citizens vote for county officials who serve the towns and the counties. From the earliest colonial times this policy of city-county separation has prevailed in Virginia. For the same period county political control of Virginia towns has prevailed.

Prior to the Virginia constitution of 1902 only the state legislature, by special act, could change the boundaries of a city to permit it to annex additional territory from adjoining counties. Since that date the General Assembly has by statute provided a special three-judge annexation court before which an annexation suit may be brought by a city against its adjoining county. The city's action is brought by the city attorney at the order of the city council.

ANNEXATION PROCEEDINGS

In order to annex additional territory the city must prove that, in the reasonably immediate future, it needs the added area for its proper and normal expansion; that municipal services are needed by the citizens of the county area proposed to be annexed which cannot be properly provided by the county concerned; that present county services to the area are deficient; that moral, physical, welfare, health, or sanitary hazards to the city welfare exist in the proposed annexation area; and that the remaining portion of the county will not be seriously impaired financially by the loss of taxable values annexed by the city. Citizens in the annexation area have no voice in the matter. The annexation court, however, is enjoined by the annexation statutes to take cognizance of informal citizen votes or polls and petitions in the rendering of their decision. Any county citizen may appear before the court and petition for or against annexation. While the testimony of expert city planners and engineers, as well as that of expert educational, health, welfare, public administration, and other competent authorities, is admissible and traditional in annexation suits in Virginia, the whole annexation court procedure takes the form of litigation before a three-judge court whose decision may be appealed to the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia.

The Virginia city is forbidden to ask for annexation of county territory on the ground that the city needs the additional taxable values in the proposed annexation area.

In the main the complete independence of the Virginia city has proved to be a wise political policy during the past 228 years of experience. Certainly it has obviated the controversy which continues in other states where this complete separation does

not prevail. It eliminates duplicated offices, services, and equipment, and completely avoids overlapping of political authority. This has on the whole permitted the citizens of Virginia cities a larger measure of home rule than could prevail if county political authority overlapped city political authority. It has placed responsibility for the efficient administration of Virginia city government squarely on the city officials who cannot allege county official interference in municipal affairs or costs. The General Assembly of Virginia grants charters to Virginia cities by special acts and these home rule charters are subject to adoption by the voters of the city. Most Virginia cities have managers and small unicameral councils.

COUNTIES LOSE TERRITORY

On the other hand, the complete separation of Virginia cities and counties is not an unmixed blessing. Between 1890 and 1930 there were forty-six annexations or incorporations of county territory by Virginia cities. Within twenty-five years Henrico county has twice lost 50 per cent of its taxable values by annexation of its territory to the city of Richmond in 1914 and 1940, respectively. Other Virginia counties have lost as much as 50 per cent of their taxables by annexation by an adjoining city. Usually the county loses a much larger percentage of its revenues than the percentage of its governmental costs taken over by the city. In the recent Richmond annexation of Henrico County territory, now pending before the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia, the city took nearly 50 per cent of the county revenues but only about 20 per cent of its operating costs. This will result in the serious impairment of county services in the remainder of the county, a 66 per cent increase in school tax rates, and a nearly proportionate increase in the general tax levies, or a combination of restricted county governmental services and considerably higher taxes.

This serious effect of annexation on the county which loses its taxables is a grave problem in Virginia. On the whole the counties adjoining the twenty-four Virginia cities are making some progress in improving their organizational structures and administrative procedures. They have larger revenues due to large suburban taxable property values. Virginia sanitary district laws and fire zone laws permit these suburban counties to establish water and sewer systems, fire protection systems, street lights, and other municipal services, supported by special district tax rates applicable only to the areas of the county receiving these services. On the other hand, in the cities the citizens in all parts of the city pay a uniform tax rate irrespective of the variation in specialized city services in any portion of the city.

It should be pointed out that water, sewer, fire zone, and street lighting districts in Virginia counties are administered by the county board of supervisors and county officials. These special districts are not independent subdivisions of the county, do not have independent officials,

tax-levying powers, or tax-expending authority.

At its 1940 session the General Assembly of Virginia, on the recommendation of the Virginia Commission on County Government, adopted a resolution asking the Virginia Legislative Advisory Council to make a study of the annexation problem and recommend changes in the Virginia annexation laws. It was pointed out that at least two approaches to the problem could be made. First, the present laws permitting cities and counties to enter into contracts whereby adjoining cities would sell the counties specific municipal services at a profit might be made more practicable. In this connection it was suggested that in addition to, or in lieu of, specific prices for city water, sewer, fire protection, garbage collection, and other city services, by mutual agreement the county might pay the city a "service charge" equal to a certain tax rate per $100 of taxable property values in the suburban area served. This service charge could be loaded to cover not only the specific municipal services provided but also to cover the "unearned increment" of county suburban citizens resulting from proximity to the city. This presumes that the county is not already rendering these municipal services to its suburban citizens with the use of county owned and operated facilities. It was also suggested that further provision be made for county-city joint operation of municipal utilities.

The second suggestion was that substantially the same present annexation laws be continued with the city granted permission to levy for an indefinite period of time lower tax rates in the newly annexed area as is now permitted the counties. The present Virginia laws permit the city to levy the same county rate of taxation in the annexed territory for a period of five years provided it expends all revenues collected in the area for capital improvements in the annexed area. The present law permits the city to raise the ratio of assessed to sales value of the real estate in the annexed area immediately following the final court decree ordering annexation. However, the city cannot immediately levy the general city tax rate until it has expended for capital improvements in the annexed area a sum equal to 12 per cent of the county assessed values in the area annexed.

NEWPORT NEWS LAW

While in the vast majority of the Virginia annexation trials the cities have won their cases and the counties have lost their territory and taxable values, after long and costly legal battles on the part of both cities and the counties, there have been exceptions. The city of Newport News recently lost its annexation suit against an adjoining county. As a result the county representative in the 1938 General Assembly secured the passage of a special act, drawn in the form of a general act, forbidding a Virginia city to annex any part of a county the size of his county unless it annexed the whole county. Because this made annexation almost impossible, since the city does not want to annex rural and

semi-rural areas, the 1940 General Assembly enacted a special metropolitan area statute for Newport News. This statute permits a popular election by the citizens in the area proposed to be annexed as to whether they desire annexation. Special studies are now being made preliminary to the formulation of a plan to be submitted to the citizens of the area for their approval or rejection.

ANNEXATION OPPOSED

The League of Virginia Counties is vigorously opposed to the present annexation laws and their effects on the taxable values of the counties. Since there are far more county senators and delegates than city representatives in the General Assembly the opposition of the League of Virginia Counties finds support in that body. To some degree this situation is acting as a stimulus to the counties to improve the organization of their governments as well as their administrative procedures. Considerable interest is being expressed in a number of suburban counties in the manager and executive optional forms of county government made available by the General Assembly in 1932. Improved county government is the best defense in an annexation court trial.

From the Virginia city point of view the problem is equally serious. Good roads, the telephone, the radio and telegraph, the automobile, electricity, and modern sanitary facilities, all available in areas far from the city, have combined to disperse the population, formerly included within city boundaries, far beyond city limits. New industries no longer settle in the cities but seek locations out in the counties where the tax rates are low. Real estate values in the cities tend to decrease with serious effects on revenues while fixed city operating costs and debt service remain at substantially the same level

While the Virginia city levies business and professional licenses and franchise fees in addition to real estate and tangible personal property taxes, real estate continues to bear the principal portion of the municipal tax burden. The 1926 Virginia "segregation law" permits only the state to tax intangible property, incomes, and inheritances. State grants-in-aid represent more than one-third of all county expenditures while they represent only a very small fraction of Virginia city expenditures.

While considerable discussion of metropolitan area government is taking place in Virginia as these problems of city and county are faced, no tangible proposals other than those suggested above have been made as a basis for legislative action. Perhaps in this direction may lie some solution of the problems of the "dispersed city" and the county faced by repeated "piece-meal" losses of territory. It has been specifically suggested that counties adopting and operating modern efficient forms of county government be protected by law from city annexation unless the entire county is annexed.

Twenty Years of Town Management in Vermont

"Thoughtful men and women have become convinced that this type of local government is simpler and more efficient, that it is a type of government which is entirely in accord with the principles of democracy."

By K. R. B. FLINT
Norwich University

THE first step taken in Vermont towards the manager form of government was made in 1917. That year a bill was introduced in the upper chamber of the General Assembly, authorizing the employment of municipal managers by towns and incorporated villages. The measure was sponsored by Senator Eddy of Windham County, was reported favorably by the committee on municipal corporations, and was passed by the Senate on the 4th of April. Contrary to what might have been expected, in view of the fact that the proposed legislation was in no way mandatory, the House Committee on Municipal Corporations reported the bill adversely. On April 6, however, this report was overridden by the lower chamber and on the following day the bill was signed by the Governor.

Apparently the act of 1917 was drafted with foresight. During the more than two decades since its adoption it has been deemed necessary to amend it on but three occasions. In 1921 the law was so changed as to preclude the manager from calling special or annual town meetings and signing orders on the general fund of the town. He was, however, given specific authority to sign orders as road commissioner and overseer of the poor when performing the duties of those officers. By the same amending legislation he was required to do the accounting for all the departments of the town and of the town school district. Furthermore, it was his duty, unless otherwise voted, to supervise and expend all special appropriations.[1]

In 1927 the statute was again amended so as to forbid the manager to act as purchasing agent for the town school district or to make repairs upon the school buildings unless requisitioned by the school directors to perform such service.[2]

The last change came nine years ago when the session of 1931 extended the provisions of the enabling act to include cities and prescribed the way in which voting should be carried on under the Australian ballot system.[3]

As the law stands today any city, town, or incorporated village can avail itself of the provisions of the enabling act. When voters, equal in number to 4 per cent of the total vote cast in the municipality at the last gubernatorial election, petition

[1] *Laws of Vermont, 1921,* P. 90.
[2] *Laws of Vermont, 1927,* P. 57.
[3] *Laws of Vermont, 1931,* P. 86.

the governing board, there must be inserted in the warning for the annual meeting, or for a special meeting called upon such petition, an article to the effect that the municipality will vote on the employment of a manager in accordance with the provision of Chapter 149 of the Public Laws. A majority vote authorizes the inauguration of the plan. It can be abandoned by a majority vote in any annual meeting provided a proper article is inserted in the warning.

The manager is chosen by the city council, town selectmen, or village trustees. He does not have to be a resident of the municipality, but the law states that he shall be selected with special reference to his education, training, and experience and without reference to his political belief. His pay is determined, unless otherwise voted, by the council, selectmen, or village trustees. In general it may be said that the manager is the administrative head of all departments of the government. He is the general purchasing agent, the custodian of all public buildings, and the overseer of the poor. He is sworn to the faithful performance of his duties and is required to furnish a bond. The library and schools are not under his control.

SPRINGFIELD PIONEERS

The first place to operate under the plan was Springfield, an industrial community having at that time a population in town and incorporated village of 7,202. By a coöperative arrangement which was permissible under the law the town and village agreed in 1920 upon the same manager for the two municipal corporations and that coöperative spirit has continued to the present time. As the pioneer in the movement in Vermont, Springfield's experiment has been followed with particular interest by other communities throughout the state and in general it may be said that the plan has been successful.

The first manager, John B. Wright, was a non-resident engineer who voluntarily resigned in 1924 following a series of unpleasant incidents. His successor was R. M. Wilcomb, the proprietor of a dry goods store, whose interest in municipal affairs was evidenced by the fact that he was at the time of appointment serving as treasurer of both town and village. For thirteen years Mr. Wilcomb was an exceedingly able and conscientious administrator whose public service did much to advance the manager movement, but in 1937 he was forced to resign because of a sickness which soon after resulted in his death.

The present incumbent in Springfield is J. Leslie Giddings, who at the time of his appointment was night superintendent in the local Jones & Lamson Machine Company. In a period of twenty years the managership has been in the hands of three men—a fairly good record in stability.

During the twenties the movement spread slowly. On February 14, 1921, the charter of the city of St. Albans was so amended by the General Assembly as to permit the employment of a manager and the following month A. B. Edwards was engaged to serve in that capacity.

In June 1923 the plan was put into effect in St. Johnsbury, town and village coöperating for the purpose. In May 1926 Ludlow began operating under the system and the following month Windsor fell into line, an incorporated village participating in each instance. The next addition came in April 1927, when Rockingham and the village of Bellows Falls engaged Sidney L. Ruggles as manager, the plan having been declared in operation the preceding January.

BRATTLEBORO CONSOLIDATES

It was at this time, 1927, that Brattleboro made a sweeping consolidation of municipal units by authority of a special legislative act which did away with the village of Brattleboro, the Brattleboro School District, and the West Brattleboro Fire District, leaving a single municipal corporation—the town of Brattleboro. In May 1928 the plan was put in operation there, and then for some unknown reason the movement bogged down completely, little agitation appearing anywhere for the manager system during the next seven years.

In 1935 interest was again given positive expression when Troy, including the village of North Troy, established manager government under the shadow of the Canadian frontier. Two years later Middlebury and Hardwick, including in each case an incorporated village, endorsed the system with Barre Town and Castleton following suit in 1939. In that same year Hardwick village decided to act independently and maintain its own manager.

With the beginning of another decade two more managers were authorized at annual meetings held last March—one in Vergennes, smallest city in the state, the other in Randolph, town and village uniting for the purpose.

In addition, it might be noted that Waterbury and Fairhaven voted this year to appoint committees to report in 1941 regarding the desirability of installing the system in those towns. Furthermore, civic groups in several other Vermont communities have shown considerable interest in the manager idea, particularly in the town of Northfield and the city of Montpelier.

The system has been abandoned by the city of St. Albans, the town of Brattleboro, the village of Windsor, the town and village of Ludlow, and the village of Hardwick.[4] St. Albans was under a handicap at the outset because of a charter provision which called for both a city manager and a city commissioner with duties somewhat conflicting. Soon after the first manager was chosen it was officially reported that "the first task of the new government was the preparation of a nine-year program of improvements with estimated budgets covering the entire period to 1930."[5] Yet within six months from the time Mr. Edwards took office he was out and his successor selected. Add to

[4] See also *Manager Plan Abandonments*, by Arthur W. Bromage, New York, National Municipal League, 1940.

[5] *Seventh Year Book of the City Managers Association* (1921), p. 54.

this the fact that by April 1923 a third man had been appointed, and some idea can be had of the early confusion which characterized St. Alban's experiment.

The Brattleboro failure was a bitter disappointment to those in Vermont who believed in the manager form of government. The setting had seemed just what was needed for success. The consolidation of municipal units, mentioned in a preceding paragraph, had done away with conflicting jurisdictions. A thorough-going study of the system as it operated elsewhere in New England had been sponsored by civic groups. The selectmen had engaged as manager, at a salary of $5,500, a man with a successful record as town manager of Mansfield, Massachusetts.

In spite of this promising background, however, the new type of government came abruptly to an end in 1931. Naturally many varying opinions have been put forward as to the reasons for the collapse. The most plausible seem to be the following: that a determined opposition had worked quietly, but effectively, to spring a surprise; that the manager advocates had entirely underestimated the strength of this opposition and consequently were caught napping; that the manager was over-zealous in the performance of his duties.

The village of Windsor discarded the manager system at its March meeting in 1931 after a five-year trial. There was never too good an understanding between the manager and those who employed him as to his duties and Mr. Farmer had already resigned as manager of the town when the village took its action. The village voted on the manager system again in 1938, but the article was tabled as there was a plan under way at the time to consolidate town and village. Unfortunately the consolidation was defeated in the legislature when undercover opposition made a last-minute appearance.

Ludlow is the only place in Vermont which has re-established the manager system after abandoning it. The first venture was of short duration, two men serving as manager during the period, and the fact that the first incumbent was in office only eight months is ample evidence that the movement was off to a bad start. There is quite general agreement that the major reason for the failure was a decided lack of coöperation between the manager and those who employed him. Apparently a new school of thought is in control. Town and village have united as before for administrative services and authoritative reports indicate that a greater degree of success can be hoped for than when the plan was first adopted.

HARDWICK DROPS PLAN

The rejecting of the plan by Hardwick village at the annual meeting last February emphasizes some interesting points. In 1937, both town and village having voted for the system, Ira K. Fuller was called to the managership from Troy where he was serving in a similar capacity."[6] Mr. Fuller's initial salary of $2,500 was later increased to $2,700, but a few months before the end of the

[6]Mr. Fuller's work in the village of Hardwick was of a limited character.

second year he tendered his resignation. The work of management was taken over temporarily in the town by L. E. Griggs, farmer and member of the board of selectmen; while in the village the year was finished by L. S. Robie, president of the village, grist mill operator, and dealer in farm machinery.

At the annual meetings in 1939 the coöperative idea was abandoned and the men temporarily serving in town and village were elected managers of their respective municipal corporations, Mr. Griggs at a salary of $1,800 and Mr. Robie on a per diem basis—an unusual arrangement anywhere and the only instance of its kind in Vermont.

The population of Hardwick, including the village, is 2,720, a size which would warrant under favorable conditions the employment of a manager. However, the population of the town exclusive of the village is but 1,053 and it will be interesting to note how long it will seem desirable for a place of this size to continue with the system.

At this writing there are in Vermont eleven municipal managers and in the not distant future the number will be increased to twelve, the city of Vergennes having voted in favor of this system at its annual meeting in March, although the manager has not as yet been selected.

TOWNS AND VILLAGES COÖPERATE

In seven instances the manager is employed by two governmental units—the town and an incorporated village within the town. The dean of this Vermont group is C. S. Sumner, manager of St. Johnsbury town and village and for some time manager of the city of St. Albans. Katherine E. Conlin, manager of the town of Windsor since 1936, is believed to be one of two women managers in the world, the other being Wilma D. Murdaugh of Fort Meade, Florida. Six of these managers were non-residents at the time of their appointment and four of them lived outside the state. When selected they were employed as follows:

City manager	1
Assistant manager	2
Traffic engineer	1
Construction engineer	1
Civil engineer	2
Lawyer	1
Farmer	1
Night superintendent of machine shop	1
Insurance agent	1

One of the number, Robert Baumberger of Castleton, was educated for public administration, having spent two years in the Graduate School for Public Service Training at the University of Cincinnati, from which he received his master's degree in public administration in 1938.

Of the places in Vermont which have experimented with the manager system no one has had a population of 10,000. While Brattleboro had the plan it held first place with a population of 9,816 in 1930. Today St. Johnsbury holds that distinction with 9,696. The smallest is the town of Hardwick with 1,053.

Naturally there has been a wide range in salaries. Springfield paid John B. Wright, the first manager in the state, $3,600, and Roy M. Wilcomb, his successor, received $4,000, an amount which eventually was in-

creased to $6,000, the highest paid in Vermont. St. Albans paid its first manager $3,600, its second $4,200, and its third $2,800. St. Johnsbury also started with $3,600. The highest initial salary—$5,500—was paid Mr. Plattner when he was engaged as manager at Brattleboro. The initial salary at Windsor was $2,200. Randolph, the population of which is 3,166, has just selected its first manager at a salary of $3,500, and the town of Hardwick is now paying $1,800.

COURTS PASS ON PLAN

In 1926 the manager statute was questioned in the courts. The litigation grew out of a misunderstanding between Alfred L. Farmer, manager of the town of Windsor, and the town school directors over the nature of his authority.[7] The main points at issue related to the purchasing of school supplies, repairs upon school buildings, control of school janitor service, and financial accounting with regard to school affairs.

Holding that the town and the town school district in Vermont are distinct corporate entities, the Supreme Court of the state agreed to a mandamus in which the following points of law were established: that school directors still retained exclusive authority to purchase supplies for the town school district; that the manager had the duty, formerly belonging to the school directors, of making repairs on school property; that the manager had no authority to draw orders on the school fund and consequently orders for repairs on school property must be drawn by the directors; that hiring of janitors still remained with the directors under the provisions of the general school law; that the town manager must do all accounting and because of that fact he has a right to all books and papers necessary to the proper performance of his duties; and finally that the treasurer of the town had no authority to pay orders drawn for repairs unless and until approved by the manager.

It is difficult to appraise the working of the manager form of government in Vermont. The manager's job in the small town or village is not an easy one and perhaps it is not too much to say that the hazards in the way of success are as great as in a city of considerable size. Some would say that they are greater. There is yet a widespread and deeply rooted notion throughout the state that the century-and-a-half-old town form of government is good enough and, strange as it may seem, there is in many quarters a real attitude of resentment against efficiency. Efficiency demands that the fellow who does not pay his water bill be shut off the system, but he still has left a voice strong enough to convince his friends that the manager is an autocrat and a memory long enough to carry his own vindictiveness to the ballot box. This disgruntled element has a bad enough effect anywhere, but in the small community it can be poison to the success of the manager plan.

An exceedingly difficult problem is

[7] *Alfred L. Farmer* v. *Edward W. Haley et al.* 100 Vt. 75 (1927).

presented by the existence in many Vermont towns of one or more incorporated villages. This makes it necessary, if a single manager is to be employed, for town and village to coöperate, the selectmen and trustees agreeing to hire the same individual. It is not easy for two independent boards to agree thus and it certainly is most difficult for a manager to serve two masters. Fortunately there is a growing sentiment in favor of the consolidation of municipal units as was done in the case of Brattleboro in 1927 and attempted unsuccessfully by Windsor in 1939.

RELIEF A PROBLEM

Unquestionably the manager's toughest problem is the administration of poor relief. Before the real force of the depression had hit Vermont it was the opinion of every manager in the state that his load would be comparatively easy if he could shake himself free from the duties which formerly had been performed by the overseer of the poor. This statement is not intended to give the impression that Vermont has had an inordinate amount of poor relief. In fact, quite the contrary has been true. The point is made merely to show that the nature of this problem is such as to keep the manager and the manager plan in constant jeopardy. There are plenty of people who reason that they can "get away with things" under an easy-going overseer whereas their schemes would be blocked by an efficient manager—and these people have votes.

It is clear that success cannot be expected immediately after the plan has been inaugurated. This point is amply demonstrated by Springfield's experience. The system was dangerously near failure there at several times during the first three years following its adoption, but the sponsors stayed with it through the danger period. It takes time to get results and it is well to remember that there must be back of the manager a strong reserve of public opinion if he is to succeed in his task.

It has been well said that an expert may do something with a municipality that is down and out financially, but he can do nothing with one that is down and out in public spirit. Incidentally, it has been noted in Vermont as elsewhere that he is a wise manager who avoids playing the rôle of community leader, but attempts rather to enlist in his cause the service of all those civic agencies which are able to arouse and sustain public opinion.

In spite of all these obstacles—resentment against imagined autocracy, faulty political structure, the hostility of many upon relief, and impatience on the part of the electorate—the movement has gone forward steadily in Vermont. It is not difficult to find the reason. Thoughtful men and women have become convinced in increasing numbers that this type of local government is simpler and more efficient than any other which thus far has been devised. Furthermore, they are of the opinion that it is a type of government which is entirely in accord with the principles of democracy and there is every reason to believe that the next decade will witness a considerable extension of the system.

Budget Program vs. Bankruptcy

"If our municipalities will recognize that hasty and extravagant capital improvement ventures are a major source of financial difficulty, an increasing number will turn to long range budget programs."

By IVER C. OLSEN
Bureau of the Census

AN INCREASING number of experts in municipal finance are advancing the prophecy that some of our municipalities are faced with bankruptcy unless positive corrective measures are taken. It is stated that the volume of municipal indebtedness, accumulated in response to an incessant demand for a wide variety of public services, has increased to the point where it is totally disproportionate to the tax base that supports it, and that the tax structure itself is seriously threatened. Unless a more enlightened effort is made to effect a workable balance between municipal expenditures and available income, these observers believe that a collapse of the present high level of municipal credit is inevitable.

In fairness to the majority of communities, it should be stated that they have been quite conscious of their difficulties, particularly as the depression years brought new and graver problems, and they have set about to restore order to the best of their individual capabilities. Most of them have discovered, however, that it has not been possible to correct in a year or two the financial pressure that had its roots in past decades, and they have either permitted this discovery to discourage them altogether from the house-cleaning to be done, or they simply have attempted to brighten up the picture with a none too durable coat of whitewash.

Only a few communities have realized the urgency of making a thorough analysis of their financial structure with a view to projecting a budgetary program most suitable to their needs and pocketbooks. Since these few have discovered their problems to be not at all insoluble if attacked systematically, this article will concern itself with the methods of budgetary control which give promise of relieving the strain upon municipal finances.

The transition of our average community from a crossroads village to a modern municipality, imperceptible in development though it may have been, has been accompanied by a complexity of financial problems, which local officials generally were unprepared to manage. Within the life of a single bond issue the dusty main street and its interconnecting country lanes gave way to an elaborate system of paved streets, boulevards, parkways and traffic circles, and bridges, viaducts and underpasses. The town pump or individual well supplies were discarded for a modern water system, complete with treatment facilities, emergency reser-

voirs and miles of water mains. The town constable and his unpretentious "hoose-gow" was supplanted by a full police force with radio patrol facilities, police call systems, and modern jails. Advanced sanitation methods required hundreds of miles of sewer mains and storm sewers, and facilities for the treatment and disposal of sewage. Social consciousness demanded charitable, recreative, corrective, and penal institutions.

As these communities and the civic pride within them grew, each vied with the other in building the model city. The old swimming hole was supplanted by tiled swimming pools and club houses, and to these recreational facilities were added baseball parks, amusement parks, playgrounds, golf courses, tennis courts, civic centers, recreation piers, solariums, auditoriums, and libraries. Spurred on by the enthusiasm of the citizenry, whether it was a majority or simply an effective pressure group, there were added airports, ferries, radio stations, fish markets, gas plants, zoos, street railways, hospitals, electric power plants and museums. Even in death the taxpayer was assured a final dignity and comfort by virtue of the municipal cemeteries.

A STAGGERING BURDEN

The acquisition of these municipal improvements not only represented enormous capital outlays and debt service commitments, but collectively a staggering annual burden for operating and maintenance expense. Clearly they should have been realistically programmed since even with the best municipal administration the demand for public improvements and services has a much more rapid growth than the ability of the community to support them, and necessitates a mortgaging of future income. Most of our communities, however, plunged into the task of building the modern city with little thought of whether their capital improvements were urgently necessary or simply a beautiful dream.

No study was given to the relative priority or to the degree of urgency of proposed projects or to the cumulative effect of these ventures upon the community's finances. Numerous municipalities now find themselves with an impressive array of capital improvements which are more expensive to operate and maintain properly than originally anticipated. In some cases these added costs have strained the finances of communities in a degree sufficient to upset the provisions made for the retirement of indebtedness created in constructing the improvements. The situation is complicated by the fact that a municipality must keep its plant equipment in good order, constantly must make additional outlays to safeguard life and property, and the problem is how to do it when the taxpayers are virtually strapped.

In order to meet these circumstances realistically, it is clear that our municipalities must introduce new methods of budgetary procedure. The majority of states and municipalities have for years pursued a procedure of budgeting their operating and maintenance expenses on an annual or biennial basis, but only recently has any attempt been made to project

a long range fiscal program embracing a period of years.

Generally speaking, it is not the normal expenditures of a municipal administration, readily susceptible of annual control, that precipitate budget woes. It is the capital improvement program embarked upon at irregular intervals, involving the major replacement or repair of existing public improvements, the opening, widening and extension of streets, the building of schools, bridges, water systems and sanitary facilities, parks and public housing, which frequently disrupt the finances of a community. Moreover, the construction of these projects was undertaken with no advance planning, and the physical development of the community often was of the crazy quilt pattern—an expensive, wasteful, and neglectful process.

LONG RANGE PLANNING

Consequently, while the control of ordinary municipal expenditures may be desirable in itself, it does not assure a balanced fiscal program unless accompanied by a soundly evaluated schedule of capital expenditures, intelligently adjusted to the financial capacity of the community. This obviously cannot be accomplished through budgetary control restricted to an annual basis, but must be projected into a long range program.

Several municipalities are now experimenting with methods of long term budgetary programming, including Winchester, Massachusetts; Nashville, Tennessee; Dallas, Texas; Sacramento, California; Fargo, North Dakota; Spokane, Washington; and Kalamazoo, Michigan. These efforts are being followed with much interest by the taxpaying public, and are scheduled for discussion and study by various groups of public officials, including the International City Managers' Association. Some of these programs are now included in public administration courses offered in several universities, as for example the Winchester, Massachusetts, plan, which is a basis of study at Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The majority of these municipal programs have been worked out in coöperation with the Technical Public Works Committee of the National Resources Planning Board, which has financed demonstration studies in several cities, well scattered geographically, in an effort to show the practicability of such programs and to perfect the techniques and procedures involved. So promising have been the results of these efforts, and so enthusiastic the public response to the objectives involved, that the National Resources Planning Board will soon publish a manual of procedure which will be suitable to guide local officials in all types of communities.[1]

By virtue of its extensive studies in the field of public works programming, and its efforts to correct the past haphazard procedure followed in the physical development of our communities, the National Resources Planning Board contemplates a dual objective from the long range budget-

[1]See also "The Preparation of a Long-Term Financial Program," by C. E. Rightor, New York City, 1927.

ing procedure it has developed. It visualizes the formula as accomplishing the orderly programming of needed public improvements under an enlightened long range perspective of municipal development, and it includes a procedure of financial or budgetary management designed to assure a continuity of the program. Each phase of the formula is equally important, but this article deals mostly with the fiscal rather than the physical objectives and benefits.

SURVEY NECESSARY

In most cases these long range budget programs have embraced a six-year period. As previously indicated, the method of approach first involved a thorough analysis of the finances of each municipality. The responsible budget officer charted for a period embracing a number of preceding years the annual outlay for ordinary municipal functions of the various departments, the normal cost of operating and maintaining municipal utilities, the requirements for debt service, and all other annual municipal expense of a recurring nature.

The historical analysis of these various items of municipal expense was carefully studied as to trend of growth, and then projected ahead for a period of six years after the adjustment to reflect such increases or decreases as the normal course of municipal affairs suggested to be probable. Obviously a long range budget cannot be projected unless sufficient study has determined the likelihood of whether these items of municipal expense are susceptible of control within prescribed levels.

The budget officer then made a similarly thorough analysis of the municipality's various sources of revenue. Consideration was given to the trend of proceeds from general property taxes; whether the circumstances responsible for past increases or shrinkages in tax receipts were likely to continue; whether the community had virtually reached its maximum development within the corporate limits, thus stabilizing to a large extent the assessed valuation.

The ability of the taxpayer to support the current level of the tax structure was also carefully weighed in order to avoid future complication. An effective way of doing this has been to measure the productivity of the property tax in terms of the rate of delinquency. In many cases these studies revealed that the value of property taxes was decreasing and that property tax receipts were constituting a steadily declining proportion of municipal income. In such cases it was highly essential that the budget officer carefully study the long neglected field of miscellaneous income, such as license and personal property taxes, utility earnings, corporation taxes, and receipts from alcoholic beverage control and gasoline taxes. The long range prospects of continued grants and shared taxes also were items of serious importance. With these studies concluded, the budget officer was then in position to make a reasonably reliable estimate of future municipal income for a six-year period.

Concurrently with the preparation

of surveys covering municipal income and expenditures each of the various operating and planning departments of the local municipal administration submitted a carefully considered list of contemplated capital improvements for a six-year period, including extensions, repairs, alterations, or replacements of municipal property. These inventories of proposed expenditures were supported by full facts as to their necessity and desirability, and were presented in an order of priority based upon their necessity. Not only was the original cost of these improvements carefully estimated but the added municipal expense for their maintenance and operation was likewise seriously considered.

In order to exclude from these inventories the influence of pressure groups or the occasional jealousies of departmental heads, some of the municipalities found it advantageous to have the inventories studied by local bureaus of government research, citizens' budget committees, business men's advisory committees, or local planning boards. It might be added that in virtually all municipalities where efforts to plan an intelligent budget program have been successful, much of the credit is due to active citizens' advisory groups.

A well considered study of municipal improvements may disclose the possibility of substantial savings by undertaking certain capital expenditures through joint action with neighboring communities, particularly the elimination of stream pollution, the construction of regional high schools, public hospitals, and municipal utilities. Failure to unite with neighboring communities in projects of this character has in many cases been responsible for needless and substantial waste of municipal funds.

With the three surveys completed, it then was possible to project a long range capital budget program judiciously trimmed to the financial resources of the community. The problems of whether future capital improvements should be arbitrarily limited to surplus income over ordinary municipal expenditures, whether a more ambitious program should be financed on a "pay-as-you-go" policy involving moderate increases in the tax levy, or whether they should be accomplished through further increases in the bonded indebtedness, can be resolved by the facts developed from the three surveys and the financial objectives desired from the budget programs.

SUBJECT TO CHANGE

Except for the first year, the six-year program is by no means to be considered a binding commitment. Inasmuch as municipal income and functional requirements are subject to many variables, the budget program should be kept flexible by annual review in the light of changed needs and available resources. In order to provide for its perpetual continuance as an administrative procedure of municipal government, another year is added on to the schedule at each annual review, to replace the year's program just consummated. Through this procedure, the municipality is guided in its management and development by a

continuous long range perspective, but with only the current year definitely committed.

Faced with major operating problems, the city of Kalamazoo adopted a long range budgetary program in 1918 with the elimination of debt the principal objective. This was accomplished by 1937 without sacrifice of needed public services and the city is now embarking upon a new long range program that will keep its fiscal structure stabilized and debt free.[2] Although the original program was exclusively financial in objective, Kalamazoo's new program embraces a long range consideration of municipal improvements.

Another pioneer in long range budgetary control is Two Rivers, Wisconsin, a community of approximately 10,000 population, which saw the inherent dangers of mounting indebtedness and taxes and made a determined effort to check the ruinous trend. The program was initiated in 1929 and contemplates the entire elimination of bonded indebtedness by 1947. In the ten years the plan has been in operation not only has the retirement of debt been on schedule, but it has been accomplished with a full schedule of municipal services. During this period the city has built one bridge, two new schools, a sewage disposal plant, has rebuilt its harbor facilities, and has constructed seventy-one blocks of concrete streets and ten miles of sidewalks. Moreover, the tax rate has been reduced from $30 to $26.50 during this period. Nothing could demonstrate more clearly the successful results of long range budget planning.

If our municipalities will recognize that hasty and extravagant capital improvement ventures are a major source of financial difficulty, an increasing number will turn to long range budget programming. Communities constantly must make capital improvements to survive, but they cannot remain solvent unless they adopt some effective formula whereby such expenditures are programmed with more serious consideration of their need and their relation to the financial structure of the communities affected.

It is the simple proposition of maintaining a continuous municipal perspective which will provide for the expenditure of the taxpayer's dollar only (1) when the dollar is available, (2) when the expenditure is necessary, and (3) in a way that will insure maximum value for the dollar. Consequently long range budget programming is a science which should engage the attention of all communities regardless of whether or not they currently are experiencing financial pressure. On the basis of the experience presently available, nothing has been discovered to suggest that these methods of budgetary management cannot be successfully and advantageously pursued by all municipal administrations.

[2]See also "Kalamazoo Looks at the Record," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1940.

Contributors in Review

FATHER of the city manager plan, founder of the short ballot movement, leader in numerous organizations of civic purpose, the name of **Richard S. Childs** (*The City Manager Plan Passes Its "Exams"*) will be everlastingly kin to good government. He began his good works as a young man just out of Yale and has never diminished his efforts. He was president of the National Municipal League from 1927 to 1931 and is now chairman of its council; he has served also as president of the Proportional Representation League and of the New York City Club. At the same time, however, Mr. Childs has found time for an important career in the business world, holding now the positions of executive vice president of Lederle Laboratories, Inc., and director of the American Cyanamid Company.

FOR thirteen years **K. R. B. Flint** (*Twenty Years of Town Management in Vermont*) has directed the Bureau of Municipal Affairs at Norwich University, besides heading the department of social sciences. As a member of the Vermont General Assembly in 1921-23, he introduced and sponsored to its passage the measure providing for municipal planning in Vermont.

NEWSPAPER reporting has been the profession of **Lloyd Gladfelter** (*After Thirty Years*) since 1918. He has ranged from the York (Pa.) *Gazette and Daily* to the Wimington (Del.) *Morning News* to the Milwaukee *Journal*, with a spell in between at the University of Wisconsin, from whose School of Journalism he was graduated. As city hall reporter for the Milwaukee *Journal* for the past nine years, Mr. Gladfelter covered the National Municipal League's Conference on Government last November in Indianapolis.

TENNIS champion **John McDiarmid** (*Los Angeles Attacks Metropolitan Problem*) (for further details see the November 1939 issue of this magazine) is just beginning a year's study of public library administration in the United States under a grant by the Carnegie Corporation, in collaboration with his brother, Dr. E. W. McDiarmid. Dr. John McDiarmid is regularly assistant professor at the School of Government of the University of Southern California, and has just served as section leader for the metropolitan government section of the U. S. C. Institute of Government held early in June.

AS VIRGINIA state director of the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, **Iver C. Olsen** (*Budget Program vs. Bankruptcy*) has been in a position to accumulate considerable authoritative information on the financial planning woes of municipalities. *Barron's, Banking,* and other financial and economic magazines have already published some of Mr. Olsen's findings on aspects of this subject. Of late, Mr. Olsen has been temporary consultant in municipal finance to the Division of State and Local Governments, Bureau of the Census.

ANY possible pro-county partisanship in *City-County Separation in Virginia* **Raymond B. Pinchbeck** attributes to two of his various official aliases: chairman of the Henrico County School Board, chairman of the Virginia Com-

mission on County Government. His other cognomens, however, attest to a strictly non-biased point of view, for he is a member of the Virginia Council on Public Administration, which seriously attempts to apply the scientific attitude toward public administration, and he is dean of Richmond College at the University of Richmond—as well as professor of applied economics at the same institution.

EMERITUS members of the Pennsylvania Intercollegiate Conference on Government, **Irving J. Zipin** and **Leonard B. Gerson** (*Learning by Doing*) have brought their earlier training to practical professional application. Mr. Zipin is now research assistant to the Committee on Department Organization of the Joint State Government Commission. His collaborator was graduate assistant in the Department of Political Science at Temple University last year. Lawyer Zipin received his B.A. from Temple in 1934, was chairman of the Temple delegation to the Pennsylvania Intercollegiate Conference in that year, was one of its charter members, and has been general advisor to the conference ever since. Mr. Gerson had his B.A. from the same university five years later, his M.A. the following year. He too was once chairman of the Temple delegation.

AFTER THIRTY YEARS

(Continued from Page 450)

alties collected annually by the city for the fund. Each year, as the fund increased by these payments, the assets were invested in trust fund securities. Interest coupons were clipped and the money was reinvested. By compound interest Milwaukee in seventeen years built its amortization fund from nothing to almost $9,000,000.

"Second, by committing itself in 1932 to a policy of issuing no more bonds for city purposes. As the debt amortization fund grew the public debt declined. Since 1932, when the debt reached an all-time high of $51,000,000, it has been cut to $18,716,500 in 1940.[1] In 1943 the debt will be down to $10,500,000. The amortization fund in the same year will equal or exceed the debt.

"Each year thereafter, when the bond interest and principal payments must be made, city officials will dip into the amortization fund, using the principal of the fund to meet the bond maturities and its interest earnings to cover interest charges."

It's all very simple. All any city needs is the will to go ahead and the determination not to deviate from the plan.

Hoan visualizes Milwaukee's financial future as ideal. Once on a cash basis its taxpayers will receive a dollar's worth of construction in schools, sewers, buildings, bridges, and paving for every dollar they spend. In the past they received one dollar's worth for each one and one-half dollars spent.

The extra fifty cents no longer will be paid to investors in bonds because there will be no more bonds.

[1]The debt does not include the city's share of Milwaukee County's indebtedness. Adjusted, Milwaukee's own indebtedness plus its share of the county obligations would be approximately $37,000,000.

The Researcher's Digest: July

Cincinnati indictment of relief "system (?)"; Los Angeles research on 131 charter amendments; Washington researchers hold Government Institute.

WILLIE Pond, an ordinary self-respecting American with a wife and three children, was a foreman when the mill closed down. Soon the family was forced to go on relief, and their circumstances became unbearable on the puny, inadequate allowance due them under the local relief schedule. Then Willie developed tuberculosis and he was taken to a hospital at public expense. His family thus passed from the category of "relief" to the category of "aid to dependent children," allowed to families with an incapacitated wage-earner. The scale of aid under this form of public welfare was much higher, and the family were able to move out of the miserable slum and once more properly to clothe and feed the children. At last Willie recovered, was again able to work—although he could still find no job. The family was transferred back to the general relief rolls. In the end, Willie committed suicide to rid his loved ones of the burden of a non-earning wage-earner, and his family went back to "aid to dependent children" and self-respect.

That is the story of a novel which was published a couple of months ago—*The Triumph of Willie Pond,* by Caroline Slade (Vanguard Press). It is also the story that lies behind the May 23 issue of *The Public Purse,* issued by the **Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research.** Titled "More About Our Poor Relief 'System (?)'," the bulletin presents a large table comparing the monthly budget schedules under the various forms of public aid: aid to dependent children, aid to the needy blind, aid for the aged, soldiers' relief, general relief, city welfare relief, and WPA eligibility budget. The text of the six-page *Public Purse* is a scathing, searching indictment of the vagaries of this schedule which is called, says the bureau, a "system(?)". The bureau lists nine basic steps necessary to transform the "system(?)" into a system. With slight changes, the discussion could apply to the welfare set-up in any municipality in the country.

Changing Charters Wholesale

During the last fifteen years, the voters of the city of Los Angeles have gone to the polls fourteen times to vote on 131 specific proposals to amend the city's charter. Nine of these elections were separately conducted, and the other five were held jointly with state elections. This extensive experience with the machinery of popular charter amendment has given the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of California at Los Angeles** excellent material on which to base some pertinent conclusions of general application.

Reports the bureau in a 33-page, mimeographed study of May 1940:

1. There is a better vote on charter issues presented at general elections (rather than primary or special elections).

2. There is a persistent apathy on the part of the electorate with reference to charter amendment proposals—the vote on men is more spirited than the vote on issues.

3. Certain types of amendment proposals tend to dominate voter interest, such as water and power, civil service, finance, and police and fire department

issues, showing that employee organization and support is probably an indispensable element if an amendment proposal is to be passed. But items which affect the public directly, such as civil service and election issues, tend to attract a good response too.

4. Neither subject matter nor position on the ballot is of paramount importance in determining the final response.

The bureau observes that the extensive use of the amendment method of changing the charter has not at all clarified the document. "The length of the charter has been approximately doubled since its adoption only sixteen years ago. In practically every instance, the changes which have been made have remedied a specific ill or have been in the interest of a certain department or group of employees in the city government. There has been no general overhauling of the charter."

And finally, "this form of spasmodic addition and alteration serves to create only further confusion in the mind of the average voter."

Washington Institute of Government

Plans are being completed for the fifth annual Institute of Government, sponsored each year by the **University of Washington Bureau of Governmental Research,** and intended by public officials, civic leaders, and others interested in problems of state, county, and city government, reports Ewen Dingwall of the Municipal League of Seattle. The institute is scheduled for July 24-26, on the university campus, and is under the direction of Dr. Donald H. Webster, associate professor of political science and director of the research bureau.

Speakers at the three-day session will include Governor Clarence D. Martin; Dr. William F. Ogburn, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago; Dr. Thomas Barclay and Dr. Graham Stuart, professors of political science at Stanford University; B. H. Kizer, chairman of the Washington State Planning Council; and Charles F. Ernst, director of the Washington State Department of Social Security.

Various sections of the institute will discuss the following subjects: law enforcement, traffic control and safety, personnel administration, planning, school finance, public library administration, public health, and taxation.

More than 450 public officials and other governmental leaders attended last year's institute. Sessions are held twice a day, morning and afternoon, for the various sections, with a daily general assembly at noon.

Objectives of the institutes are set forth as follows:

"To provide a short, intensive training course for public officials and employees in certain specialized fields of government and administration; to provide a program of general public education in those fields for persons who desire to become better acquainted with the organization of administrative departments and laws relating thereto; to furnish inspiration and new information to the public administrator, and to bring together public officials, professional and business men, teachers and students in an effort to better understand and meet the definite and practical needs of government."

Research Bureau Reports Received

Accounting

Governmental Accounting as an Aid to Citizen Control of Government. Papers of the Conference on Governmental Accounting, December 1, 1939, held under auspices of Wayne Univer-

sity's Department of Accounting and School of Public Affairs and Social Work and Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc. March 1940. 53 pp. mimeo.

Bridges

Boston Drawbridges. Boston Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* June 10, 1940. 4 pp.

City Charter

Voting on Charter Amendments in Los Angeles. Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California, Los Angeles. May 1940. 33 pp. mimeo.

Cost of Living

Inter-City Comparisons of the Cost of Living. Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., of New York State. *Bulletin.* May 27, 1940. 4 pp.

Courts

Justices of the Peace. Kansas City Civic Research Institute, *Kansas City Public Affairs,* June 13, 1940. 5 pp.

Finance

Debts — Taxes — Assessments. The Civic Federation and Bureau of Public Efficiency of Chicago, *Bulletin,* May 1940. 24 pp.

Housing

The Low-Rent Housing Program. By Jesse Epstein. Bureau of Governmental Research of University of Washington, Seattle, April 1, 1940. 34 pp. mimeo.

Personnel

Officials of Washington Cities. By Belle Reeves. Bureau of Governmental Research of University of Washington. May 1940. 23 pp. mimeo.

Public Welfare

"More About Our Poor Relief 'System(?)'." Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., *The Public Purse,* May 23, 1940. 6 pp.

Polk County Relief Burden is Far Too High. Des Moines, Iowa, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1940. 10 pp. mimeo.

$17,000,000 for Relief in St. Louis County Annually. Duluth, Minn., Governmental Research Bureau, *Green Paper,* May 6, 1940. 3 pp. mimeo.

Schools

More Facts About One-Teacher Schools in Missouri. Governmental Research Institute, St. Louis, *Dollars and Sense in Government,* June 6, 1940. 1 p.

School Operating Costs per Pupil. New York State Citizens' Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., Albany, *Bulletin Number E-15.* 2 pp.

Some Basic Data on Rural Schools in Missouri. Governmental Research Institute, St. Louis, *Dollars and Sense in Government,* June 13, 1940. 1 p.

Taxation

Tax Delinquency. Rochester, N. Y., Bureau of Municipal Research, *Municipal Research,* April 1940. 1 p.

Those Adjusted Tax Rates. The Dayton Research Association, *Facts,* June 10, 1940. 1 p.

Traffic

Islands and Medial Strips in Traffic Control. Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon, Eugene, *Bulletin,* April 1940. 26 pp. mimeo.

Parking Meters—Facts and Opinions. Schenectady, N. Y., Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Bulletin,* May 13, 1940. 4 pp.

News in Review

City, County, State Progress in Brief

(Continued from Page 439)

ing and personnel officer of Saginaw as engineer in charge of operations, with the expectation of turning over the full operation of the village affairs to him within three months, under provisions of a new charter authorizing the appointment of a city manager.

The charter commission of **Blue Earth, Minnesota,** which is drafting a new charter, has asked the National Municipal League for a copy of the model city manager charter.

In **McAllen, Texas,** Mayor Etchison has appointed a committee consisting of two members of the city commission and five other citizens to study the city manager plan and submit recommendations.

Petitions for an amendment to the charter of **Johnstown, New York,** providing for the city manager plan with proportional representation, are now in circulation.

In the California cities of **Mill Valley** and **Inglewood,** charter commissions are functioning and are interested in the manager plan.

Dawson, Georgia, Newport, Rhode Island, and **Lawrence, Kansas,** are among other cities that are showing interest in the manager plan.

The village of **Hardwick, Vermont,** abandoned the manager plan in February.

Lakeview, Oregon, defeated a proposed manager charter by a vote of 79 to 234 on May 17.

Martinsburg, West Virginia, defeated a manager proposal, on the ballot June 11.

Four States Increase Maximum Old-Age Assistance

The states of Illinois, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Virginia permit more liberal assistance to their needy aged, as a result of 1940 legislation. Illinois raised "pension" maximums from thirty dollars to forty dollars a person per month, Kentucky and Mississippi increased maximum grants from fifteen dollars to thirty dollars, while Virginia struck out a provision in its old-age assistance act which had included any and all income of the person aided in the twenty-dollars-a-month maximum grant.

A thirty-dollars-a-month maximum in twenty-six states is the common provision, according to the American Public Welfare Association. Four other states allow thirty dollars a month to needy aged individuals, but provide forty-five dollars to sixty dollars for married couples. Alabama, another thirty-dollar state, allows a maximum of fifty dollars a month to needy aged veterans. A number of the states include in their maximums any private income of the individual.

Six states and the District of Columbia set no statutory limit on old-age assistance. The states are Arkansas, Kansas, Louisiana, Montana, New Mexico, and New York. This does not mean, however, that the aid actually given is limitless; in fact, one of these states makes the lowest actual average grant in the country.

The highest grant of state old-age assistance to individuals is specified by Colorado, which, with Alaska, sets a maximum of forty-five dollars a month. Prior to the Illinois increase, California, New Jersey, and Wisconsin provided for maximum grants of forty dollars in 1939 amendments anticipating the increase of federal contributions to twenty dollars per person. Wyoming, specifying aid "sufficient for decency and health"—estimated at about thirty

dollars—in a 1939 amendment provided also that "any increase in federal grants may be followed by an increase in the amount of assistance."

Connecticut specified nine dollars a week. Below the thirty-dollars-a-month allowance are five states which specify from twenty dollars to twenty-five dollars a month.

A majority of the states grant medical and hospital care in addition to the cash allowance, though in varying amounts.

Actual amounts of aid in the various states, as of March 1940, showed an average of $20.15 per recipient for all the states. The highest average grant was in Colorado—$39.67. California followed close behind with thirty-eight dollars.

WPA's Program, 1940-41

Unless the national defense program and English war orders (minus loss of foreign markets and curtailment of PWA and public housing activities) increase employment more than WPA spokesmen expect, that agency's appropriation for 1940-41 will fall as far short of providing adequate relief as did the 1939-40 program. Congress has voted $975,650,000 with authority, which Colonel Harrington expects to exercise, to spend the sum in eight months. On a twelve months' basis this will amount to about $1,500,000,000 dollars for an average of some 2,000,000 jobs. But there are now about 1,250,000 people eligible for, although not employed by, WPA, so that the national government is providing for only about two-thirds of the needy employables for whom the program was set up. Proposals to create 3,000,000 jobs, or alternatively, to make grants-in-aid for direct relief to assist the rest of the employables have received little support in Congress.

Most provisions of the new relief act are identical with last year's law which was summarized in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for October 1939; but some important changes have been made. Congressional preoccupation with war is reflected in several sections. Sponsors still must contribute 25 per cent of project costs, but this condition is waived for national defense projects (airports, military roads, etc.) initiated by local governments; and on such projects WPA may spend as much as $25,000,000 to supplement its regular expenditures on other than labor costs, and may make exemptions from its schedule of hours and earnings. The limit of $52,000 on federal expenditures for building projects is raised to $100,000, which will permit operation of more substantial projects, and those important for military and naval purposes (armories, etc.) are exempted even from this maximum.

Classified status again was denied to WPA administrative employees; and the Senate insisted on its prerogative to approve appointments of such employees receiving more than $5,000 a year. Over WPA protests administrative expenditures were reduced further, although adequate funds are essential to prevent the "waste, inefficiency, extravagance [and] political craftsmanship" in its operation which Congressmen charge. Authority was denied WPA to make grants to local certifying agencies for the purpose of raising and standardizing recruitment of relief workers.

More than 1,100,000 people on WPA rolls for eighteen months have been dismissed since last summer, but a large proportion have been recertified and reassigned. Pressure politics restricted "equal justice" further by extending exemption of veterans from this rotation to their unmarried widows and wives of unemployable veterans; but

efficiency prevailed over humanity in the refusal to grant similar privileges to heads of families over forty-five years of age. Communists and members of Nazi Bund organizations are specifically prohibited from WPA employment. But Congress failed again to adopt a rule that people eligible for assistance under the social security act should be ineligible for such employment, which some 80,000 currently prefer because of its greater benefits.

Republican proposals to liquidate WPA and to establish a system of grants-in-aid with local authority to determine relief policies, including substitution of direct for work relief, were rejected; but of this we shall hear a great deal more this fall and next winter.

ELIAS HUZAR
Cornell University

A Better City Report for Less

Concord, New Hampshire, gave the task of publishing its report for 1940 to Gustaf Lehtinen, director of the Concord Planning Board. The report was released on May 13. It contains eighty pages as compared with 260 pages in that for the previous year. Illustrated with forty pictures, diagrams, and charts, it is said to be the most interesting and intelligible report published by any city in the state. It was produced at $700 less than the report of the previous year, which cost the city $1,800. This saving has been accomplished along with the printing of 2,500 copies, 1,000 more than were printed the previous year.

LASHLEY G. HARVEY
University of New Hampshire

Interstate Fishing Compacts Authorized for Atlantic Seaboard

An interstate marine fisheries commission and interstate compacts for fisheries control among the fourteen Atlantic seaboard states were made possible through the approval by the United States Senate on May 28 of a House joint resolution giving the states permission to set up the commission and enter into the compacts subject to Congressional approval. The commission, if established through agreement with the states, would be composed of twenty-eight members—two from each state—with advisory powers only. The commission would study recommendations made by the various states as to methods, or types of regulations, best designed to preserve the fishing industry and maintain the highest annual catch possible.

Central Regional Civil Service Conference

With a record attendance of 154 delegates, representing thirty-six personnel agencies, the Central Regional Conference of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada met in Chicago May 15-17. All sessions, excepting luncheon meetings, were run as "problem clinics," thus encouraging lively and widespread participation in discussions. An informal discussion of the effect of the present and possible war situation on the activities of public personnel agencies evoked wide interest.

New Hampshire Education Board Sponsors Fire Schools

Fire schools have been opened at Manchester, Claremont, Franklin, and Keene, sponsored by the New Hampshire Fire Chiefs' Association and the State Board of Education. George-Deen funds are being used to finance the training which consists of subjects recommended by the National Fire Chiefs' Association. Training is spread over eight weeks with two hours each week devoted to classes.

LASHLEY G. HARVEY
University of New Hampshire

Minneapolis Town Halls Draw 22,000

Cross section of city participates; labor, business, public praise idea; other cities to take up program

Edited by
ELWOOD N. THOMPSON

Many cities have already inquired about the Minneapolis plan for town hall meetings. Because we believe Minneapolis has dramatized an idea for citizen action that will be used to advantage elsewhere, the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW devotes its entire section on citizen action this month to an outline of the plan and how it works.—EDITOR.

An analysis of the questionnaires filled out at the "business clinics" sponsored by the Minneapolis Civic Council in 1938, showed four major civic problems to be: (1) employer-employee relations; (2) better government; (3) lower and more equitable taxation; (4) attitude of the public.

The special committee charged with the responsibility of drafting a program for the civic council concluded that no appreciable progress could be made in solving these major problems confronting the community until a more coöperative and understanding public attitude could be developed. The report says:

> Ignorance, indifference, misinformation, false notions, incorrect ideas, misdirected emotions, unjustifiable hatreds—in short, undesirable social attitudes and behavior—are the fundamental troubles of this community that lie back of most of our problems.

Hence the Town Hall meeting program was launched in October 1939 to arouse public interest in civic problems, to present factual information concerning them, and to obtain the active interest and support of citizens in helping to solve them.

Preparation for the Program

During the summer of 1939 a series of conferences was held with representative men and women from all sections of the city to enlist their support and obtain their views on the best method of conducting community meetings. As a result of these conferences, committees of from ten to thirty people were established in each of the thirteen wards. They agreed to assume responsibility for organizing and sponsoring "Town Hall" meetings within their own districts. At the same time, a corps of approximately fifty business and professional men and women were enlisted to serve as speakers or discussion leaders.

In addition, considerable factual material bearing on major civic problems was compiled and condensed for speakers' manuals so that those volunteering their services would have source books from which they could draw material for their talks.

Meeting Procedure

Sponsorship: Sponsoring ward committees in most cases were supported by community organizations, including civic and commercial associations, religious groups, women's clubs, trade unions, Legion posts, P. T. A's., etc. Organization sponsorship was especially encouraged, since this guaranteed an audience, although local ward committees from time to time arranged neighborhood meetings on their own responsibility without any outside help.

Meeting Places: Meetings were held in all parts of the city—in school houses, churches, lodge halls, settlement houses, and private homes. In many cases, meeting rooms were furnished without

charge. In others, a nominal rental was paid by the council.

Advertising: Nearly every method of advertising the meetings was employed. They were listed in the daily papers and in community weeklies. Sunday editions usually carried weekly schedules. Meetings were also mentioned in radio news broadcasts. Letters and postcards were sent out to selected lists of people asking them to attend and bring their friends. Telephone campaigns were organized by ward committees. A standard handbill featuring a colonial bell ringer was furnished by the Civic Council and distributed through the schools or from door to door.

Program: A more or less standard procedure was adopted for all meetings, which, however, was sufficiently elastic to permit variation that might be desirable under special conditions. The usual program follows:

1. Meeting was conducted by a neighborhood leader, who served as chairman. In opening the meeting, he took a few minutes to explain the reason why the meeting was being held, the purpose that it sought to accomplish and the way in which the meeting would be conducted.
2. In many cases a community "sing" was held at the beginning of the meeting. "Town Hall Song Sheets" were furnished by the Civic Council, as well as a leader and accompanist.
3. The volunteer speaker, or discussion leader, presented the subject briefly in a talk of not over twenty minutes.
4. The audience was then encouraged to participate in a question-and-answer period and to comment on the subject. The length of the discussion varied from a half hour to more than two hours, depending upon the interest.
5. Meetings were occasionally closed with motion pictures of an educational or civic nature. Projection equipment and operator were furnished by the Civic Council.
6. Doughnuts and coffee or a light lunch ended the evening. Informality was the keynote.

A Town Hall news-sheet entitled *Fact*, containing information on current civic problems, printed on news stock in tabloid size, was distributed free at all meetings. Five editions, with a total circulation of 50,000 copies, were given away at Town Hall and other meetings.

Frequent Meetings

Minneapolis Town Hall meetings were held at frequent intervals from October 1939 to June 1940. Records show that 252 such meetings were held, with a total attendance of 22,610 and an average attendance of 90.

The following subjects were discussed:

Employer-employee Relations: About sixty meetings were devoted to this subject. In each case the people of the community asked for a discussion of it. Material presented by speakers was designed to impress the value of harmonious employer-employee relations to the community and to the individual. The general text was "Every strike is settled around a conference table. Why not settle disputes in this way before the strike begins and save wages and other losses." Most of the meetings were held in labor wards and before groups of working people. Many women attended. The questions asked and the interest shown clearly indicated an awakening realization of the losses incident to labor strife and the importance, so far as the welfare of the workingman is concerned, of promoting harmonious employer-employee relations.

Business and Community Prosperity, Minneapolis and Its Resources, and Industrial Development made up the largest number of programs. While each topic enabled the presentation of

different information, the general theme was the same, namely, the importance to the community and to the individual citizens of a prosperous and growing business and industry in Minneapolis.

Exposing City Rackets: The discussion of this subject was chiefly under the direction of the Better Business Bureau. The subject matter consisted of a factual presentation of promotion schemes, misleading advertising, and other activities calculated to separate people from their savings. These meetings were particularly popular and produced many requests for "repeats." The value of the service that can be rendered to the people of Minneapolis by the Better Business Bureau, if they will make use of it, was emphasized.

Civic Responsibility: This subject was handled from the standpoint of encouraging citizen responsibility. The discussion leaders used data compiled from voting records in Minneapolis. Talks included an explanation of the machinery of registering, voting, etc. Emphasis was placed on the importance of voting an intelligent ballot and participating in civic affairs.

Taxation in Minneapolis and the City's Relief Problem were presented at more than seventy-five meetings. The discussion leaders were supplied with up-to-date factual information about the city's tax situation and its relief problems. Discussion following the presentation of the subjects, often continuing until late in the evening, indicated the city-wide interest in these topics and the desire of the people for "facts." The Minneapolis Taxpayers Association coöperated in these meetings and supplied many of the speakers.

Traffic Safety: This was presented in an educational way and for the purpose of emphasizing the necessity for city-wide recognition of the serious nature of the problem. Information included facts about enforcement, necessity for the safety program, and appeal for citizen coöperation. The Hennepin County Safety Council cooperated in the meetings and supplied the speakers.

Your City Government: This was a factual presentation of the mechanics of municipal government, an explanation of the duties, functions, and activity of city officeholders and departments, and the cost to the taxpayers. (Note: Teachers of civics in the Minneapolis schools asked for copies of the data used by the speakers and every school in the city was supplied.)

Discussion Leaders

All of the discussion leaders gave very generously of their time. Since as many as seven or eight meetings were sometimes held on one night, many of the speakers were called out several times each week throughout the winter. Officers and staff representatives of the Minneapolis Civic Council and its affiliated agencies personally conducted a great many meetings or participated in them.

Publicity

All daily newspapers, weeklies, and magazines coöperated to the fullest possible extent in publicizing the Civic Council's Town Hall meeting program. Announcements and stories of individual meetings appeared daily. The *Tribune* newspapers and the *Minneapolis Star-Journal* contributed 2,049 inches of publicity (97 columns). A number of news stories were illustrated. Several favorable editorials were also secured. Typical quotations follow:

> *Times-Tribune*: The holding of local discussion meetings for the primary purpose of getting at the facts and disseminating general knowledge of them is one of the most commendable endeavors ever made in Minneapolis or anywhere else.

Star-Journal: These talkfests indicate that the average citizen is using his mind and finding his tongue on issues which concern him, his community, and his country. In turning to that ancient and honored democratic institution—the town meeting—he is relearning the fundamental working processes of representative government.

The Tribune: Some rather flattering national attention has been given the series of Town Hall meetings being held in Minneapolis . . . prominence of the type given through emphasis upon the Town Hall sessions is a welcome change . . . a wise move by the community to capitalize upon assets so that liabilities may gradually be overcome.

Star-Journal: The Town Hall meetings are practical exercises in pure democracy. . . . The town meeting is the smallest unit of self-government and also it is—or should be—the base of self-government.

The Minneapolis Southtowner: A newer, more active, more practical type of democracy exists in Town Hall meetings, where the audience first listens to the speaker and then tells the speaker what it thinks. An electorate that knows what the next election is about is more likely to vote than one that does not. The Town Hall movement is slowly but surely bringing about a more informed electorate. . . Become a more active believer in the democratic form of government and begin by taking part in the next Town Hall that comes your way.

In addition, civic publications throughout the country commented favorably on the program. Several articles, now in preparation, will appear in forthcoming editions of national magazines.

Public Reaction

Scores of Minneapolis citizens have written or communicated with the Minneapolis Civic Council to express their appreciation and voice their approval of the Town Hall program. A few typical comments:

> I attended one of the meetings that your organization had arranged [on employer-employee relations]. . . . I was deeply impressed by the fairness [of the speaker] . . . he wanted a square deal for all and defended the rights of both the worker and the employer. He convinced me that we must coöperate with each other to make a better Minneapolis.—A Union Worker.
>
> I think this is one of the finest things ever put on in Minneapolis for the benefit of our general civic welfare. . . . I am a sincere booster of the whole Town Hall meeting plan.—W. L. Huff, Vice President & Treasurer, Minneapolis Honeywell Regulator Company.
>
> I have attended two Town Hall meetings in my neighborhood and it seems to me they are a pretty good thing. I have learned a lot about the city, its government, taxes, and relief. No citizen can be as good a citizen as he ought to be unless he keeps reasonably well posted about the affairs of his city. I learned more about our financial problems in an hour or so than I had ever learned before. More people in the city need to know about these things. I like the open discussion, which follows the presentation by the Town Hall leader. It is the true democratic method of popular discussion.—From "A Letter to the Editor" of the *Minneapolis Tribune*.
>
> It was my privilege to listen last night to your [radio] talk at the Town Hall meeting, and I want to say it was one of the best and most constructive that I have ever heard pertaining to the possibilities for additional industries in Minneapolis. . . . I am sure everyone who was present at the meeting was convinced that by proper coöperation, the development of Minneapolis and the reduction of the number of unemployed people can be greatly improved.—J. S. Clapper, President, Toro Manufacturing Company.

Accomplishments

1. A better understanding of vital civic, social, and economic problems. Thousands of men and women in Minneapolis today are better informed on matters of community interest and hence able to form intelligent conclusions.

2. A better realization and appreciation of the value of business and industry to Minneapolis, the direct loss to every individual when business and industry are handicapped and the importance of encouraging business and industrial expansion.

3. A closer tie between the outlying community and business sections and the so-called "loop" district.

4. A better city-wide knowledge and understanding of the Minneapolis Civic Council and its member agencies—their purpose and program.

5. Favorable publicity for Minneapolis.

Future Plans

All evidence points to the desirability of continuing the Town Hall meeting program. The rank and file of citizens attending such meetings enthusiastically endorsed them and urged that they be continued.

Immediate plans call for strengthening and enlarging ward and precinct committees and enlisting and training more discussion leaders, mobilizing new citizens (8,000 will come of voting age in Hennepin County this year), for a city-wide "Citizenship Recognition Day" program, to be held on Constitution Day, September 17; an intensive get-out-the-vote campaign with wide-spread distribution of a nonpartisan *Voter's Directory*, which provoked so much favorable comment in the municipal election of 1939. In addition, it is proposed that a weekly radio Town Hall program be launched in the fall following successful experiment with this medium of community publicity, when a typical Town Hall meeting was broadcast by Station WCCO on April 2

ALLEN H. SEED, JR.,
Executive Vice-President
Minneapolis Civic Council

Virginia County Powers Expanded

More Counties Consider Manager Plan

Edited by
ELWYN A. MAUCK

The 1940 session of the Virginia legislature made no fundamental changes in county government, but some additional powers were given counties through general and special legislation. Many of the laws were general in form but special in purpose and effect, such as, for example, the law that was to apply only to "every county in this commonwealth having an area of not less than five hundred square miles nor more than six hundred square miles, and a population of not less than 16,500, nor more than 18,000, according to the U. S. census of 1930," or to "any county in this state which adjoins three cities lying wholly within this state one of which cities has a population of 170,000 or more as shown by the last preceding U. S. census."

One such "general law" provided for an optional "county board" form of organization applicable only to Fairfax County. The law stated that the plan had to be presented by the board of supervisors or by initiative petition and adopted by referendum before becoming effective. It provided that there should be elected one supervisor at large in addition to those elected on a district basis. The board was empowered to appoint an executive secre-

tary who would prepare the budget, supervise its execution, audit claims, advise the board, and exercise general supervision over the administration. The law specified that the attorney, clerk, sheriff, commissioner of revenue, and treasurer should continue to be elective, and, in addition, that the examiner of records, registrars, coroners, and justices of peace among others should remain unaffected.

At a recent mass meeting to consider the adoption of this plan, however, the residents of Fairfax County rejected it in favor of the county executive form in which the executive is more powerful than under the board form but less powerful than under the manager plan. It is expected that a date for a referendum on the county executive plan will be announced shortly.

By narrow definition also, the 1940 legislature provided that in the future certain counties that had adopted optional charters could not lose any of their territory through annexation to a contiguous city. The entire county, however, could be annexed after a favorable referendum. A similar law, drafted to apply specifically to the city of Newport News and adjacent territory, provided that any county of less than seventy square miles or a part of it could become annexed to a city of at least 25,000 population only after a difficult procedure had been followed. Such procedure included initial action by the board of supervisors or initiative petition, agreement with the city, and an affirmative vote by popular referendum in the units involved.

All local units were empowered to acquire objects of art, relics, and buildings in which to house the same from the United States government. Local units were authorized to borrow money in conjunction with grants from the federal government, but counties had first to secure a referendum vote favorable to the proposed bond issue. Local units were authorized also to acquire forest lands.

Considerable legislation involved county sanitary districts such as establishing their boundaries, authorizing them to issue bonds, and validating the creation of all districts concerning which there might have been irregularities. County water supply systems also were subject to legislative modification. Other legislation authorized the card indexing of tax delinquent property, created county police departments, extended the scope of the optional county government laws, and, in minor aspects, amended many other laws affecting county government.

County Manager Interest Grows

The residents of five counties recently have shown interest in adopting the manager plan of government for their respective units.

In **Madison County, New York,** a committee has been appointed by local officials to analyze the plans offered in the optional county government laws of the state. It is contemplated that one of the plans will be selected for submission to the voters in November.

Cattaragus County, New York, recently appointed a charter committee which hopes to present a reform plan to the voters in November.

The government of **Smith County, Texas,** is being studied by a committee of the Chamber of Commerce of Tyler, Texas, with a view toward instituting improvements. The success of the city manager plan in Tyler has caused the committee to give serious consideration to a similar plan for the county.

The board of commissioners of **Guilford County, North Carolina,** was asked by one of its members to study the feasibility of appointing a full-time, non-resident county manager. The success of the manager system in the

cities of High Point and Greensboro within the county was offered as evidence demonstrating the practicality of the plan.

The residents of **Fairfax County, Virginia,** gathered recently in a mass meeting to hear the report of a special committee on county government reform. The committee recommended the adoption of the executive form, and the meeting voted to present this plan at a special referendum election.

Municipal Credit Holds Despite War

Michigan benefits by "scavenger" land sales; will defense bonds be tax-exempt?

Edited by
WADE S. SMITH

Exhibiting remarkable resiliency in the face of European developments,[1] *The Bond Buyer*'s index of municipal bond yields rose to 3.00 per cent at June 1 as compared with 2.59 per cent at May 1 and 2.66 per cent at June 1, 1939. The index for eleven first grade bonds rose from 2.21 per cent at May 1 to 2.66 per cent at June 1, as compared with 2.26 per cent at June 1, 1939. In each instance the May 1, 1940, index represented the low, both for 1940 and for the period since the index was started. The high for the twenty representative issues was 5.69 per cent on May 1, 1933, and the high for the eleven first grade issues 4.90 per cent, also on May 1, 1933.

Several factors are operating to hold up municipal bond prices, of which by far the most important continues to be the unprecedented volume of excess bank reserves. Another factor is the lowered volume at present of new issues, greatly reducing the supply from the levels which have prevailed during the last several years when the localities were borrowing heavily to match federal public works appropriations. The greatly improved financial condition of most municipal units, many of which are in as strong a position as they have ever experienced, is a further factor. Shaky situations of course continue to fetch prices under the general high, and further softening of prices in distinctly marginal credits is to be expected. There are no present indications, however, that the war abroad and its repercussions domestically are likely to cause any appreciable drying up of credit sources for the vast majority of cities, counties, school districts, and other local units.

[1]See also "Bond Market Resists War Shock," in last month's issue of the REVIEW, p. 428.

Single State Agency for Assessment Equalization

In a report submitted June 11 to the National Association of Assessing Officers, its Committee on Assessment Organization and Personnel recommends the establishment of a single state agency to take care of the equalization of property assessments. Twenty-four states now have such statewide equalization agencies, fourteen states have both state and county agencies, and ten others have none.

In "equalizing" assessments, the agency raises or lowers the assessed valuation of all property—or all property of a particular type—throughout a tax district. It does so for a number of reasons, but especially to make each district pay its fair share of a state property tax. Equalization agencies, the committee pointed out, are quite different from boards of assessment

review, which, although often called "boards of equalization," adjust the valuations of individual pieces of property rather than of whole tax districts or classes of property.

To remove the need for county equalization agencies, which number close to a thousand and are found only in states with township assessment districts, the committee recommends enlargement of assessment districts, coordination of the work of deputy assessors, and expansion of the activities of state equalization agencies.

A state equalization agency should be maintained by any state that imposes taxes on the basis of local assessed valuations, that distributes funds to local governments according to a formula involving local assessed valuations or local tax rates, or that assesses some property for taxation at local rates.

Members of an equalization board, the committee contends, should be chosen at large and not as representatives of particular districts within the jurisdiction of the board. "Persons serving the equalization district as a whole are much more likely to be scientific in their methods and objective in their decisions," says the committee's report.

The report also recommends that most equalization agencies be given powers of assessment review. An exception is made for such states as Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Ohio, where a state board of tax appeals has been created for assessment review purposes and local assessors are supervised by the state tax commissioner. Under such circumstances, the committee believes that the commissioner should serve as the equalization agency.

"Scavenger" Sales Return Land to Michigan Tax Rolls

"Scavenger" sales of land which had reverted to the state because of tax delinquency have resulted in returning more that 55,000 parcels of land to local tax rolls in Michigan since February 13, reports the American Society of Planning Officials. The parcels of land are being sold at auctions in thirty-five lower peninsula counties under provisions of a law passed last year by the legislature.

In addition to reinstating this land on the tax rolls, where it may once more become a source of revenue, local governmental units will divide most of the proceeds of the sales, which thus far total about $5,000,000. This figure, however, does not begin to approximate the sums lost through tax delinquencies, which were cancelled when the state gained title to the land.

"Scavenger" sales are conducted under supervision of the new state land board created by a 1939 law. Less than half of the 425,000 tax-reverted parcels in the thirty-five counties were offered for sale, and the sales have been virtually completed in all but three counties. At present the land board is issuing deeds to successful bidders.

Under terms of the statute a bid will not be accepted if it is less than 25 per cent of the assessed value of the land for the last year before the state gained title. Municipalities may bid for lands they want for public purposes, and may ask that sale of any parcel be delayed a year if they plan to purchase it later. Former owners have thirty days after the public sale to meet the highest bid and thus regain the land, and have the privilege of buying on installment.

Recent figures on the land sales show that 2,790 cash sales were made

to former owners for approximately $202,000, and that 35,000 installment sales were made which will bring in a total of $2,500,000. Cash sales to "outsiders," of which there were 15,645, brought in approximately $1,750,000.

It was pointed out that approximately 6,000 former landowners have regained their land by matching the bids of other would-be purchasers.

The sales records show that Oakland and Wayne (Detroit) Counties are far in the lead in parcels of land sold, and cash or prospective revenues obtained. In Oakland County, 3,125 cash sales have brought in $475,187, while 10,310 installment sales will bring in $986,500. The Wayne County figures show that $127,868 was obtained through 2,458 cash sales, and $525,242 is expected from 17,047 installment sales.

The "scavenger" sales, which will continue next year, mark the first time since 1881 that Michigan has attempted on such a scale to clean up widespread tax delinquency. A similar land sale was held then, but no especial privileges were given former landowners at the time, and no minimum price was fixed.

Federal Defense Bonds to be Tax-Exempt?

Testifying before the Senate Finance Committee, Treasury Secretary Morgenthau declared that the Treasury favored removal of the tax-exempt feature from forthcoming national defense bonds. He said also that he would not object to their taxation by the states.

The declaration has occasioned another outburst of objections from municipal authorities and others interested in preserving the tax-exempt feature of all government bonds, although some observers have correctly pointed out that Mr. Morgenthau's statement was restricted to forthcoming treasury issues and did not deal with the general subject of tax exemption.

While there is ample evidence pointing to the conclusion that theoretically the removal of the tax-exempt feature of municipal bonds would result in a fractionally higher interest coupon, there are other evidences that the actual increase in borrowing costs would be nominal except for the poorer credits. It has always seemed to this columnist that the assumption that municipals owed their attractiveness to investors to their tax-exempt feature is erroneous—certainly the great volume of institutional buying of municipals is motivated by considerations of *security* to at least the same extent as of yield, and the buying of many individuals and estates is probably similarly motivated. In other words, no matter what the competition from other taxed securities, municipals will aways have a monopoly on the ultra high-grade investment market, although, of course, not all municipals will fall in this class. Certainly, the money market would have to be in a radically different situation than it is today before taxpayers in reasonably well managed municipalities need fear that removal of the tax-exempt feature will appreciably increase the borrowing costs to their local governments.

Bond Sale Note

Municipal officials frequently quote the favorable prices received for bonds of their governmental unit as proof of the excellence of administration, sound fiscal practices, or prosperous condition of their unit. Many of those who look upon bond prices as an indication of the excellence of their own adminis-

tration must have turned green with envy recently, when a California water supply district sold an issue of bonds at a price of 142.1794.

Actually, of course, the high prices being received by municipalities for their bonds in recent years have been influenced by many factors wholly outside the control of local officials—many a city, in fact, has received the "best price in its history" in spite of, rather than because of, the administration, even marginal situations having benefited in the generally high market. The California bond sale, however, serves as an interesting example of a combination of circumstances.

The bonds, sold by the Marin Municipal Water District, a unit serving the communities across the Golden Gate from San Francisco, were voted in 1926, and were designated as 5 per cent bonds. The district has been well managed, and for many years has been completely self-supporting from water revenues—hence its own credit was good. The unusually high premium arises, however, from the fact that the coupon was fixed at 5 per cent; $350,000 bonds were offered, and the premium was $147,628. This reduced the price on a yield basis to 2.53 per cent. Had the coupon been, say, 3.0 per cent, the premium would have been moderate, and not the envy-arousing 42 per cent of par.

Committee on Financial Statistics Meets

The Advisory Committee on Financial Statistics of Cities, appointed by the Director of the Census, met in Washington, D. C., April 15, 16, and 17. Preparation of financial statistics of states and cities was discussed with C. E. Rightor, chief of the division, and E. R. Gray, assistant chief. Topics included treatment of debt retirement, definition of taxes and non-taxes, and inclusion of the financial transactions of housing authorities in financial statistics. Collection and publication of county financial statistics was also considered. Those present included: Charles J. Fox, city auditor of Boston; Dan Hoye, controller of Los Angeles; Frederick L. Bird of Dun and Bradstreet; Welles A. Gray of the United States Chamber of Commerce; Carl H. Chatters of the Municipal Finance Officers' Association; and Walter R. Darby, Commissioner of Local Government for New Jersey; together with staff members of the division.

P. R. and the Future of Mankind

Excerpts from British P. R. Society's Annual Report

Edited by
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.

The following passages are all quoted from the *Annual Report for the Year 1939-1940* of the Proportional Representation Society, London, England, published by the society in June 1940 as Pamphlet No. 85—EDITOR.

When the nation is at war, the question arises in many minds whether work in respect of non-war problems, even those that will call for decisions before the close of hostilities, is legitimate and desirable. To this question the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Viscount Halifax, has given an authoritative answer. On the 2nd November, 1939, speaking in the House of Lords on war and peace aims, he made the following statement:

> If our general purpose is clear and our direction is right, and if our people are united and resolved in defense of the principles in which they believe, then we can be reasonably confident that the outcome will be made to correspond to the convictions of those who desire to create *a new and better world order* which may enlist the coöperation of all nations on a basis of equality, self-respect, and mutual tolerance.
>
> I think that *nothing but benefit can come from many different minds freely making contributions to this,* surely the greatest problem any generation of mankind has ever had to face. Certainly no one individual, and no one Government, and no one country would lay claim to be a repository of wisdom, still less to have a monopoly of wisdom, and certainly I would make no such claim on behalf of His Majesty's Government. I am quite sure we ought all to be ready to consider any proposals by which, may be, the hopes and aspiration of peoples can be brought nearer to fulfilment.

These are weighty words. The problems of a new order require serious and prolonged consideration before the hour comes for practical decision. The League of Nations was formally established by the peace settlement of 1919, but its foundations had been laid in discussions which took place during the war years. In preparing for a new world order, many men, many minds, must join in council, and the Proportional Representation Society hopes to be able, following the course approved by Lord Halifax, to make a contribution from its special knowledge and experience to some of the problems involved.

A New Order at Home

But first and foremost stands the need of taking steps—and the requisite steps must be taken before the close of hostilities—towards assuring that the general election of the House of Commons which will take place at the end of the war shall be worthy of a country that is upholding democracy and the rule of law. Upon this new House of Commons will fall exceptional responsibilities in respect of national and international reconstruction. Its composition may well affect the whole future history of our country and even of the world. It is of supreme importance therefore that the post-war Parliament shall be truly representative of the nation, in numbers and in personnel.

During the last war important steps were taken in preparation for the election that would be held when peace came. On 16th August, 1916, the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, when moving the second reading of a bill to extend the life of Parliament, addressed the House of Commons in these words: "With regard to the Parliament which is going to undertake the work of reconstruction after the war, it is eminently desirable that you should provide an electoral basis which will make that Parliament reflective and representative of the general opinion of the country"; and he invited the House to see if they could not "work out by general agreement some scheme under which, both as regards the electorate and the distribution of electoral power, a Parliament could be created at the end of the war capable and adequate for discharging these tasks, and commanding the confidence of the country."

Subsequently a conference consisting of members of all political parties from both Houses of Parliament was appointed to consider electoral reform in all its aspects. The chairman of the conference was the Speaker of the House of Commons, and the conference is generally known by the name of the Speaker's Conference. The conference examined questions on their merits and in a nonpartisan spirit, and it arrived

at a large number of unanimous decisions.

The Proportional Representation Society submitted its case in the form of memoranda presented by Earl Grey and Mr. Aneurin Williams, two members of the conference, and one of the unanimous decisions of the conference was a recommendation to apply proportional representation in the election of the representatives of the large towns and densely populated areas. Unfortunately the House of Commons, differing in this matter from the House of Lords, declined to give effect to this recommendation in the Reform Bill—a decision which had disastrous results. For, in spite of a widened franchise and other reforms, the election which took place soon after Armistice Day in 1918 produced, at a critical period, a House of Commons which was one of the most unrepresentative of recent times. A substantial part of the country favored a moderate, negotiated peace. The voting showed four million for the opposition parties against five and a half million for the Coalition Government. But the electoral system gave the Government an overwhelming majority of the elected representatives. The opposition, outnumbered by five to one, was negligible as a parliamentary force, and the House of Commons as a whole was weakened in its personnel through the defeat, almost without exception, of the opposition leaders, including Mr. Asquith among the Liberals and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald among members of the Labor Party.

Today the circumstances are very similar to those which gave rise to the appointment of a Speaker's Conference in 1916. It is proposed to prolong the life of Parliament; a general election will be necessary at the end of the war; several questions relating to elections—redistribution, electoral expenses, the method of voting—are ripe for consideration, and have indeed been raised within the present Parliament; a new conference of members of all parties would offer the best opportunity for calm discussion and nonpartisan decisions.

Even in the midst of the momentous conflict in which the nations are now engaged, man entertains new hopes and visions; he craves for an extension of justice, of freedom for the human mind, and of coöperation between the different nations. Great Britain has the opportunity and privilege of furnishing the parliamentary machinery best adapted for realizing such aspirations. A grant of fair representation to all political parties not only would give us a better Parliament at home; it would also be an example of high value when the problems presented by India are considered anew, and when the statesmen of the world are seeking a fresh basis of national coöperation in a new world order.

A New World Order

For many reasons the League of Nations—a league of which the great democracy of the United States of America did not form part—has failed to fulfil the high hopes which its foundation inspired; nevertheless, the feeling is widespread that the post-war settlement must provide for some new association or associations of nations. M. Daladier, when Prime Minister of France, speaking in the French Senate, said: "It will be necessary perhaps to envisage federal ties between various states of Europe." Mr. Neville Chamberlain, speaking as Prime Minister of Great Britain of the collaboration between France and Great Britain, said: "It may even develop into something wider and deeper, because there is nothing which will do more to facilitate the task of peaceful reconstruction." The Labor party suggests that

"the present close coöperation between Britain, France, and their allies in the political and economic spheres should be the nucleus of a wider association." Sir Archibald Sinclair has said that the principle of federation is "an indispensable line of approach towards the outlawing of war." The League of Nations Union, the New Commonwealth Society, Federal Union are all active in examining plans for the coöperation of nations.

When the Peace Conference was sitting at Paris in 1919, the Proportional Representation Society submitted a memorandum urging that the proportional system should be used not only in the election of delegates to the Assembly,[1] but in the election by the Assembly of the members of the Council. Neither of these suggestions was adopted, but in course of time certain consequences of the methods of appointment adopted evoked criticism. The members of the Assembly were not elected, but nominated by the Governments; the parliaments of the nations were not, as such, represented; minority opinion was not expressed; coöperation between men of like views in the different countries was limited; the discussion in the Assembly reflected only the views of the Governments. There was great activity behind the scenes; elections to the League Council (held on the block vote system) became so much a matter for bargaining as to give rise—under the initiative of Norway—to a demand for election by proportional representation with the single transferable vote.

The creation of any new international assemblies or councils will necessarily involve a fresh consideration of methods of election. Professor Berriedale Keith, the author of a standard work on the constitutions of the British Empire, discussing a possible federation between the United Kingdom and France, wrote: "The constitution of the [federal] legislature must present serious difficulties. But it might in the first instance be composed of equal numbers . . . for each country, elected perhaps rather by the legislatures than directly by the people, *but in any case by proportional voting.*" . . .

[1]General Smuts in his pamphlet *League of Nations* suggested that "parties might be represented by the selection of members on the principle of proportional representation."

Canada

The province of Quebec was the scene of a new electoral landslide in the election of the Legislative Assembly held in October 1939. In the previous election, in 1936, the Liberal party sustained, for Quebec, a phenomenal defeat, gaining only 14 seats out of a total of 90. In 1939 they came back to power with 68 seats out of 86. Among the defeated were six out of the ten members forming the cabinet of the defeated party, the Union Nationale. The election well illustrated the tendency of the single-member system to exaggerate movements of opinion to an extent which diminishes both the representative character of Parliament and the average quality of the personnel.

In the election of the one-chamber legislature of Alberta, held in March 1940, proportional representation was applied in the two towns, Calgary and Edmonton. Each elects five members. The voting was:

CALGARY

Party	*Votes polled*	*Seats in proportion to votes*	*Seats obtained*
Citizens	24,298	3	3
Social Credit	17,054	2	2
C.C.F. (Coöperative Commonwealth Federation)	4,142	0	0
Others	421	0	0

EDMONTON

Citizens	23,330	3	3
Social Credit	14,290	2	2
C.C.F.	4,266	0	0
Others	1,857	0	0

In each town the Citizens party polled a majority of the votes and secured three seats out of five, the largest minority, Social Credit, obtaining the other two seats. Representation was in accordance with the votes cast.

In the country districts there were single-member constituencies with the alternative vote. The results, as reported in the *Calgary Herald*, subject to the addition of some votes from outlying districts, were:

ALBERTA—Country Districts

Party	*Votes polled*	*Seats obtained*	*Cost in votes per seat obtained*
Social Credit	93,938	32	2,935
Citizens	83,085	13	6,391
C.C.F.	5,684	1	5,684
Others	5,875	1	—

The Social Credit party polled a majority of the votes in the country districts and obtained a large majority of the seats. How far the alternative vote fails as a representative method is indicated in the last column of figures, which shows that each Social Credit voter influenced the parliamentary majority to an extent twice, or more than twice, as great as a voter of the opposing parties.

There was some delay in obtaining the final results in the Alberta election, and in several British newspapers this delay was attributed to proportional representation. The election took place on Thursday, 21st March; the results in Calgary were known on Friday and the results in Edmonton were known on Saturday. The delay took place in the single-member country constituencies, and was due to the difficulties in transport.

A more important event than these provincial elections was the election of the Dominion House of Commons, March 1940. The electoral system is the same as that of Great Britain, "first-past-the-post" in single-member constituencies. The Liberal party, under the leadership of Mr. Mackenzie King, polled 2,500,000 votes against 2,000,000 polled by opposition parties. In the House of Commons it holds 179 seats against 66 for the opposition, a three-to-one majority over all parties. In some of the provinces, the minority has not secured a single representative. In commenting on the election, the *Spectator* of Hamilton, Ontario, said: "Every Liberal member of the House will represent about 11,000 votes. Every National Conservative member will represent about 32,000 votes, or nearly three times as many as his opponent.". . .

P. R. and the Government of Man

Proportional representation is not only a method of election; it embodies a political philosophy far-reaching in its values. This philosophy can be expressed in the historic formula of democracy—liberty, equality, fraternity. Liberty, for proportional representation welcomes the expression of all the live forces of a community, the different contributions which the minds of men can make to the elucidation of the political and economic problems that confront them; equality, in that it recognizes the claims of fellow-men to an equal share in representation; fraternity, in that it provides the conditions of freedom and fair play in which there can be most surely developed in the relations between parties the idea of "the good neighbor"; and it is this spirit of neighborliness, which, in terms of government, makes possible the maximum measure of co-operation in the life of a nation.

This philosophy is in keeping with the new movements for world order; it embodies the spirit underlying federation. For the representation of all parties in the nation's Parliament is the idea of federation applied to national affairs; such representation paves the way for the coöperation of all in the government of a state. Federation is the same philosophy applied to international relations—the representation and coöperation of nations in dealing with world problems, a coöperation that is the alternative to war. Thus, proportional representation is a philosophy wide in its appeal and beneficent in its influence; it stands for justice in human relationships pertaining to the field of government; and justice produces the atmosphere most conducive to peace.

The House of Commons a Sacred Trust

"We are approaching a general election. . . . Whenever it comes, it will be a great pity that the Government has not carried a measure of electoral reform.

"I am in favour of electoral reform. First, the application of proportional representation in the first instance to the great cities."—*Daily Mail*, May 1935. These are words of the Prime Minister, THE RT. HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL, C.H., M.P.

LOS ANGELES ATTACKS METROPOLITAN PROBLEM

(Continued from Page 466)

is needed. As one illustration, there is little justification for fifty primary county departments; the consolidation of nine independent public works agencies into one department particularly seems desirable and has been frequently proposed.

Too much should not be claimed for the record of Los Angeles in functional consolidation. Despite the desirable county library arrangement, for example, the problem of effective coördination with the Los Angeles City library system has not been entirely solved. Many other kinks also need to be ironed out, with the field of highway construction and traffic probably deserving the title of "Public Need for Coördination Number One." Nevertheless, few would deny that real progress toward more effective government of the metropolitan region has been made. An outstanding feature of this progress has been the voluntary nature of most of the consolidations which have been achieved. In particular, the use of intergovernmental contracts is unparalleled in American annals.[13]

Functional consolidation is no panacea for the ills of every metropolis, but demonstrated efficiencies together with an evolutionary, noncompulsory procedure are sufficiently attractive to lead Angelenos along a path with no dead end in sight. Perhaps Los Angeles is pointing the way toward one workable solution of the metropolitan problem.

[13]On this point, see J. Lyle Cunningham, "Contracting for Local Services," *Governmental Research and Citizen Control of Government*, Governmental Research Association, Detroit, 1940, p. 116.

Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

Tax Yields, 1939. By Tax Policy League, New York City, 1940. vii, 126 pp. $2.50.

With the coöperation of Commerce Clearing House, Inc., the Tax Policy League has turned out an illuminating and comprehensive volume covering federal and local tax yields as well as state yields which the latter organization has been compiling for three years past. The claim that it offers "the most complete information on tax collections in this country ever made available in a single volume" is well within the facts. Almost exactly two-thirds of the text is occupied by a study of 1939 state tax collections which remains the most important original contribution of the Tax Policy League.

It is, however, the combination of the state figures with those for the federal and local governments which produces the results of most significance. The fact that property taxes, employed exclusively by state and local governments, still amount to 35.6 per cent of all taxes collected is a matter of vital importance. That state taxes collected, including pay-roll taxes, increased 116 per cent from 1930 to 1939, while federal taxes were increasing 66 per cent and local government taxes exhibited a slight decline, is a strong indication of a trend toward centralization in which the states are playing a larger part than is commonly supposed.

The fact that total tax collections, including pay-roll taxes, amounted to 15.3 per cent of national income in 1930, increased to 22.5 per cent in 1938, and held at 20.1 in 1939, has a deep meaning not only for the student of government finance but for the historian, economist, or political scientist who seeks to plot the course of the movement in the United States toward a collective as contrasted with a private enterprise economy. It requires only the addition of those costs of government born of sources other than taxation, more especially borrowing, to get a complete picture of the momentous changes which have been made in our economic system since the stock market collapse of 1929.

This volume, very properly, does not attempt to draw far-reaching conclusions from the data it presents. It confines itself to a discussion of those matters which belong more particularly to the subject of taxation as such. Not least among these are its severe comments upon the absence of reliable tax collection data from the more than 160,000, often overlapping and inextricably mingled, units of local government. Dr. John Bryson of New York University has done a good job of estimating the amount of such collections, but it is too bad that only an estimate is possible.

THOMAS H. REED
New York City

Government, The Citizens' Business. Proceedings of the Conference on Government Management, Estes Park, Colorado, June 19-23, 1939. University of Denver, 1940. xviii, 624 pp. $3.00.

Although Americans are notorious for the convention habit, it is rare for "just citizens" to get together seriously to discuss governmental problems. Thus, it was heartening when the Department of Government Management of the University of Denver last year

followed the long established lead of the National Municipal League's annual conferences on government, to institute its first annual citizens' conference on government management. It is a matter for additional congratulations that the proceedings of the Estes Park conference have now been made available for those who could not attend.

No less than seventy-five separate individuals are in the roster of those whose remarks are recorded in this volume. They include professors, officials, businessmen, publicists, citizen leaders, and authorities on government. The array of topics is similarly catholic. The book is divided into several major divisions, covering the fiscal side of government, administration, social security and relief, citizens' groups, the consumer, and economy recovery—all, of course, as related to government. There is, finally, considerable difference of opinion to be found, with, for instance, "party responsibility" advocates cheek by jowl with strict merit system adherents.

While there is inevitably much in this volume which will not live down through the ages, it is all at least interesting today, and much of it is thoroughly challenging. It could hardly be beat as a cross-section of the thinking on local government today by those who *do* think.

M. R.

The Community and Its Young People. By M. M. Chambers, for the American Youth Commission. Washington, D. C., American Council on Education. 1940. Fifteen cents.

"THE" youth problem? No. Dozens of them, specifically stated, with blueprints for finding some of the answers, are available in thirty minutes' reading of the American Youth Commission's latest pamphlet.

Take a few minutes to go through it and you will readily see how faithfully *The Community and Its Young People* lives up to the promise in the foreword that: "This pamphlet is an attempt to take the discussion of youth problems to the grass roots. It is designed for community leaders and for public-spirited parents and youth everywhere. It maps the new frontiers that exist in every neighborhood. It is a call to constructive action along lines that every community can follow without waiting for other communities to act."

The author does not attempt to formulate the "answer" to "the youth problem." To the reader he addresses stimulating questions about youth and its opportunities, or lack of them, which can be answered in each community. The very process of answering the questions will help to organize thinking in the local community where the author feels there is real hope for helping young people.

For example, "How many young people are there in your county? Your city? Your village? . . . How many are out of school and partly or wholly jobless?"

To answer these questions, and more, on what is available for young people to do now in their own home towns, will help solve youth's problems in the author's opinion. He suggests, among other techniques, a youth survey which the commission can also tell you how to make (*How to Make a Community Youth Survey,* twenty-five cents).

The author recognizes that part of youth's requirements will continue to be answered by the federal government's program. But realistically he tells why the whole problem cannot be answered from Washington and he lays out ways and means to answer it at home, in a readable style that

should attract both youngsters and oldsters.

It's a "must" for your next spare half hour.

E. N. T.

Severance Taxes. New York City, Tax Policy League, 1940. 11 pp., mimeo. Twenty-five cents.

Severance taxes—taxes laid on mineral, timber, and other "wasting" natural resources at the time of production—are levied by twenty-two of the forty-eight states in some form. In this issue of its monthly bulletin the Tax Policy League has concisely summarized the arguments for severance taxes as opposed to the ad valorem taxation of natural resources, has tabulated the taxes and tax rates for the states imposing severance taxes, and has shown the yield for 1936-39, inclusive, of severance taxes in twenty states for which such figures are available. A short bibliography is also included. Taxpayers' organizations interested in revamping the tax system from the ground up should have this summary discussion in their files.

W. S. S.

Tax Systems (Eighth Edition). Edited by The Tax Research Foundation. Chicago and New York, Commerce Clearing House, Inc., 1940. xi, 408 pp. $8.75.

While, by common consent, "nobody knows anything about taxes," in terms of the goodness or badness of various kinds of taxes, this book proves that plenty is known about taxes as they operate today. In entirely tabular and statistical fashion, tax facts, their kinds and yields, are presented for all the states, territories, the United States, and Canada, with some information on foreign taxation. The information is given by states and also by types of taxes. While it is not beyond the realm of possibility that the researcher may look for something here that he will fail to find, the book is nevertheless "a one-volume library on taxation," an invaluable source and reference book.

M. R.

Additional Books and Reports Received

Federal Government

Reports of the Attorney General's Committee on Administrative Procedure: (1) The Walsh-Healey Act, Division of Public Contracts, Department of Labor, 69 pp.; (2) The Veterans' Administration, 129 pp.; (3) Federal Communications Commission, 177 pp. (two volumes); (4) United States Maritime Commission, 73 pp.; (5) Federal Alcohol Administration, 64 pp.; (6) The Federal Trade Commission, 84 pp.; (7) The Administration of the Grain Standards Act, Department of Agriculture, 50 pp.; (8) Railroad Retirement Board, 100 pp.; (9) The Federal Reserve System, 100 pp.; (10) Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, Department of Commerce, 73 pp.; (11) The Administration of the Packers and Stockyard Act, Department of Agriculture, 85 pp; (12) Administration of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, Wage and Hour Division, Children's Bureau, 185 pp. (two volumes); (13) Post Office Department, 98 pp.; (14) Federal Control of Banking, Comptroller of the Currency and Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, 103 pp.; (15) War Department, 46 pp.; (16) Social Security Board, 74 pp. Washington, D. C., Department of Justice, 1940.

Government and Business (New Second Edition). By Ford P. Hall. New York City, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939. xii, 455 pp. $4.00.

Utilities

A Decade of Utility Regulation in New York State—1930-1940. Report of the Department of Public Service, Public Service Commission. Albany, New York, 1940. 340 pp.

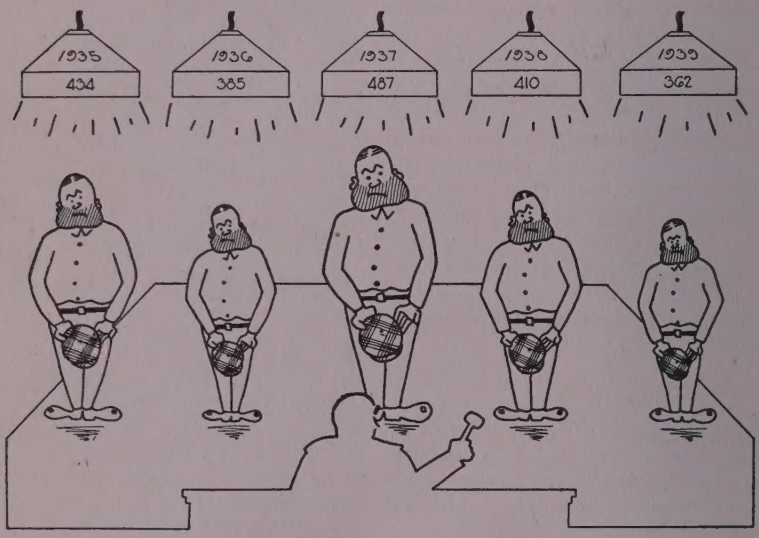
Recent State Laws on Transportation and Public Utilities. A Digest of Important Statutory Changes and New Laws Enacted in 1935-1938. State Law Digest, Report No. 2. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1940. iv, 83 pp. Fifteen cents.

The TVA: An Experiment in the "Grass Roots" Administration of Federal Functions. By David E. Lillienthal. Knoxville, Tennessee Valley Authority, 1940. 30 pp.

Zoning

Flood Plain Zoning and Evacuation. By Henry C. Klein. New York City, Conference of Special Risk Underwriters, 1939. 20 pp.

Zoning Manual for Maine Towns. By Orren Chalmer Hormell and Roy Hamilton Owsley. Brunswick, Maine, Bowdoin College, 1940. 89 pp.



A WELCOME DECREASE IN THE AVERAGE DAILY PATRONAGE AT THE CITY'S FREE HOTEL (THE WORKHOUSE)

Cincinnati Yearbook, 1939-1940. Annual Report of the city manager. Cincinnati, Ohio, 1940. 87 pp.

This is one of eleven pictorial charts in the latest annual report of the city manager of Cincinnati. These imaginative illustrations, with their pleasant leavening of humor, make the report even more readable than usual. There are photographs, also, as well as plenty of text and tables.

M. R.